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Representation of Textiles on Classical Javanese Sculpture

Volume 1 Thesis

Lesley S Pullen

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

2017

Department of the History of Art and Archaeology
SOAS University of London

Declaration for SOAS PhD thesis

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Abstract

This thesis examines a corpus of free standing figurative sculpture produced in Java over the period 9th to 14th century whose dress displays textiles with detailed patterns. This surviving body of sculpture, carved in stone and cast in metal, varying in both size and condition, now stands in archaeological sites across Java, and within museums in Indonesia and worldwide. Situated a few degrees south of the equator, the climate of Java has precluded any textiles from this period surviving in situ to the present. This thesis argues the textiles represented on these sculptures offer a unique insight into the textiles in circulation in Java during this period.

The original contributions to knowledge include the compilation of the first comprehensive record of this body of sculpture, together with their textile patterns, and their classification into a typology of styles. Due to the limited number of inscriptions and texts from this period, this research utilized visual analysis methods to examine the sculptures, supported by images of the sculptures taken by the author and original line drawings of the textiles commissioned by the author. It establishes that during a brief period in the late 13th century the textile patterns carved on the sculptures reached their most diverse and complex.

Considering supporting evidence from elsewhere in Asia, this thesis explores the origins of the medieval textiles depicted on the sculptures, and attempts to identify the types of textiles being represented. It also provides some analysis of specific motifs, such as those representing tantric iconography. As this research necessitated a detailed analysis of all the sculptures representing textiles, it also contributes significantly to other aspects of apparel and ornamentation. This thesis further argues the remnants of these patterns be utilized in the stylistic dating of sculpture from this period.

Acknowledgements

One of the privileges of undertaking my PhD research on a part-time basis over six years was the opportunity to meet so many scholars involved in this field. The timetable also afforded me the years necessary to locate all the sculptures which now form the basis of this PhD thesis. These sculptures were to be found in remote sites within the rural landscape of East Java, in local museums across Indonesia and the Netherlands, and in prestigious institutions from St Petersburg to New York. Serendipity also permitted the research of certain sculptures only rarely on display in temporary exhibitions. It was also necessary to employ this time in researching the body of surviving medieval Asian textiles to be found within Indonesia and in public textile collections from Australia to Switzerland. This extensive research has resulted in my being beholden to more individuals in more locations than I could ever imagine acknowledging by name.

The initial inspiration for this PhD project lay in a series of articles published by Jan Wisseman Christie from 1991 to 1999, and observations by scholars such as that by Hiram W Woodward in 1977 with which I preface my Introduction.

Given the prominence and importance of the drawings throughout this thesis, I offer a special acknowledgement to Ms Yiran Huang MA for interpreting with remarkable accuracy and detail the line drawings of the textile patterns represented on the sculptures.

It is customary to commence such acknowledgements with your supervisor, and in my case there are three I need to thank: Elizabeth Moore who was my nurturing supervisor throughout my first five years whilst I assembled all my material, Christian Luczanits who accepted me as his student for my final writing up year, and Stacey Pearson who remained an active and supportive second supervisor throughout.

I thank a number of internationally recognized Java scholars in the Netherlands including Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, Marijke Klokke and Veronique Degroot whose deep understanding of Javanese art history provided me with my initial direction.

A few special individuals on the ground, such as Eko Bastiawan in East Java, Eka Rusdiawanti in Central Java, and Nigel Bullough aka Hadi Sidomulyo at UTC, Trawas, East Java, have played practical roles as local researchers, translators and guides, and provided constructive ideas and general support. Pak Lutfi, Professor of History, University Negeri

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During the course of my research many textile curators and collectors have shared with me their knowledge of medieval Asian textiles: Jacqueline Simcox in London, Jon Thompson in Oxford, Regula Schorta and her team at the Abegg-Stiftung in Switzerland, Zhao Feng at the CNSM in Hangzhou, James Watt in New York, James Bennett at AGSA in Adelaide, Ruth Barnes at YUAG in New Haven, and Thomas Murray in San Francisco.

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In my pursuit of a better understanding of the various specific types of basaltic andesite from which the sculptures were carved, I thank Andy Beard in the Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences at Birkbeck, University of London.

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I conclude by thanking my husband Diccon for taking the majority of the photographs in the field, and for his constant encouragement and active participation throughout this six year PhD project, and my grown up children Lara and James for temporarily releasing me from my maternal duties.

Notes to Readers

Drawing Credits

All drawings are by Ms Yiran Huang MA, Royal College of Art, London and remain the sole ©copyright of the author. The commissioned line drawings were completed between 2014 and 2016. Ms Huang graduated from the Royal College of Art in 2015 with an MA in Visual Communication. The drawings are as far as possible an accurate interpretation of the textile patterns, although in some cases the patterns proved difficult to decipher due to surface deterioration. Therefore Ms. Huang used her trained and qualified eye to create the best possible representations which reflect both her own and the author's interpretations. In most cases she worked in London with the author's high-resolution photographs, however she also travelled with the author to The Netherlands to study first-hand the sculptures in the RMV-Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden and in the TMA-Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. She was also requested to create a line drawing of the lower limbs depicting the textile pattern on the figures of central Java as seen in Chapter 2. In this way, the reader is able to appreciate more clearly the designs on these sometimes very small figures where the pattern is often not immediately visible from photographs. In the case of the stone sculptures catalogued in Chapters 3 and 4, guidelines were set for Ms Huang to extrapolate the design from the rounded stone surfaces to establish a 'flat textile pattern'. Each cloth is drawn to the same proportions and is as true a representation as possible of the patterns depicted on the stone surface. In some instances the petals on a flower may not be the same all over the pattern, therefore what she has drawn may not exactly replicate other parts of the image's dress. This collection of drawings is original, and no previous attempt on this scale has been found. A full catalogue of the sculptures is shown in Volume 2 Appendix 1. Appendix 2 shows plates of all the textile patterns together, but only the pattern on the *kain* is depicted, not for every other garment.

Photograph Credits

All photographs are taken by the author or her husband in the field unless otherwise stated, and remain the sole ©copyright of the author. Any sculpture that is published and not on view in a museum, we have accredited the author of the book. References when known have been added in Appendix 1 at the end of each numbered catalogue entry. Much effort

was invested in obtaining the necessary approvals to photograph the sculptures, especially at sites as diverse as the Hermitage in St Petersburg and the Vihara Buddhayana in Jakarta. Where photographs are provided by a museum or copied from a publication, the source or sources have been indicated. In descriptions of sculptures, the terms 'right' and 'left' sides are from the statue's perspective rather than from the viewer's perspective.

Transliteration

This thesis has been written in the passive voice 'we' as preferred by scientific writings. Words in languages other than English, such as Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese, Old Javanese, Dutch or German are written in italics. This research draws on many different approaches to transliterating Sanskrit, Old Javanese and Malay words. We have used diacritics for all Bahasa Indonesia and Sanskrit words, and pinyin transliteration for all Chinese words. Indonesian or Malay terms are explained in the Glossary. Quotations from publications will be spelt in the original. Citations will be, name, year and page on the first occasion, followed by the name and page only on the second, and by *ibid* on third and subsequent. Citations in the footnotes will be given in full.

Sanskrit

Sanskrit words and names have been transliterated according to the Indian spelling, for example, Śiva with a 'v' and not a 'w' as it is usually written in Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia. Mudras such as *dharmacakramudrā* will be written in one word and not in two or hyphenated as is sometimes the case. Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī will be written the first time in full and then subsequently as Durgā.

Old Javanese

The names of Javanese rulers have been spelt with the following convention using the *ṛ* Kṛtanagara and not *er* Kertanagara. The term 'Singosari' represents the temple, whereas 'Singhasāri' represents the historical dynasty. We have chosen to describe 'Singosari Style' using the spelling which reflects the greater proportion of the sculptures, after Lunsingh Scheurleer.

Statues and Architecture

When appropriate, the base of a statue will be known as a lotus cushion (double or single) set upon a pedestal, following the convention after Brandes, Fontein and Reichle. The dates for kings and dynasties will be given in full the first time, after which only the full name will appear with no dates. The points of the compass will be written in lower case; for example, east Java. Terms such as Southeast Asia and the Tower Temple at Caṇḍi Singosari will be written in capitals. To indicate a plural for certain Javanese and Indonesian terms, the English plural s is not needed, for example the word caṇḍi implies temple or temples. We will use the convention from the Oxford dictionary to spell centuries as 13th not thirteenth, and spelling century/ies in full.

Textiles

The terminology given for textiles and types of dress will follow the Javanese terms in Appendix 1, which are taken from the *kidung* and *kakawin* literature and *sīma* charters. However in Chapters 2 to 4 they will be described using the English words, apart for the words, *seléndang*, *upavīta*, *kain* or *sinjang*.

Numbering system and sculpture classification

Each sculpture has been assigned a unique Catalogue number as from 1 to 72, referred to as Cat.1 etc. The full catalogue of each sculpture is given in Volume 2 Appendix 1, which includes dates, places of origin, present locations, sizes in centimetres and material, together with a reference as to where the sculptures have been cited, plus a full description of their textile patterns, dress and ornaments. We have researched every statue in this group, and have referenced the publications where necessary for the statues we have not personally sighted. While the descriptions of the bronze and gold figurines in Chapter 2 are taken where necessary from the relevant publications, the majority of the group have been researched first hand. The descriptions of the paintings at Pagan, Myanmar are taken from the author's own personal observations.

Bibliography

The bibliography is supported by EndNote X6 for Windows. When we commenced this research in 2010, SOAS recommended and supported this software. During the course of this research SOAS discontinued their support in favour of Zotero. Nevertheless, given the

advanced stage of the thesis, we persisted with EndNote. Subsequently the ownership of EndNote changed. In the process of finalizing this thesis, an unresolvable technical issue appeared which can result in inconsistencies in the format of the citations in the footnotes.

Word Count

Volume 1 Thesis totals 83,996 words excluding the Bibliography of 3,472 words.

List of Abbreviations

The full name of a museum will be used on the first occasion, after which an acronym will be used; for example, RMV- Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden and Nāg.- Nāgarakṛtāgama.

Literature

KH	Kidung Harsawijaya
KK	Korawāśrama Kakawin
KPW	Kidung Panji Wijayakrama
KRL	Kidung Rangga Lawe
KS	Kidung Sudamala
KS	Kidung Sundayana
Nāg.	Nāgarakṛtāgama
PK	Parthayajna Kakawin
SK	Sumanasantaka Kakawin
SP	Sērat Pararaton
SP	Sērat Pranacitra
ST	Sērat Tatātjara

Museums and Institutions

AAM	Asian Art Museum, San Francisco
AS	Abegg-Stiftung, Riggisberg, Switzerland
AI	Archaeological Institute of Indonesia, Jakarta
ASM	Assam State Museum, Guwahati
BM	British Museum, London
BNM	Bangkok National Museum, Bangkok
BPCM	Cultural Heritage Reservation Centre, Prambanan
BPPB	Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala, Jogjakarta
BSM	Bumiayu Site Museum, Bumiayu, South Sumatra
CM	Colombo Museum, Colombo
CAM	Cleveland Art Museum, Cleveland
CNSM	China National Silk Museum, Hangzhou
CSMVS	Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya
DM	Danar Hadi Batik Museum, Surakarta
IAMM	Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur
IAS	Indonesian Archaeological Service
IM	Indian Museum, Kolkata
MAK	Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MG	Musée Guimet, Paris
MJSM	Muara Jambi Site Museum, Jambi
MJTR	Museum Jawa Tengah Ranggawarsita, Semarang
NHM	National History Museum, Vienna
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
MNI	Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta
MP	Museum Pusat, Jakarta
MSB	Museum Sana Budaja, Jogjakarta
MTM	Mpu Tantular Museum, Surabaya
MTN	Muzium Tekstil Negara, Kuala Lumpur
NHSM	National History State museum, Vienna

PM	Prambanan Museum, Jogjakarta
RPM	Radya Pustaka Museum, Solo
RMV	Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden
RM	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
S'GS	s'Gravanzande Store, Leiden
SHM	State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg
SM	Sonobudoyo Museum, Jogjakarta
SM	Staatliche Musee zu Berlin
TM	Trowulan Museum, East Java
TMA	Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam
UTC	Uppaya Training Centre, Universitas Surabaya, East Java
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London
VB	Vihara Buddhayana (Wan Kiap Sie), Jakarta
VOC	Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie)
YUA	Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven

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1 Introduction

'A fabric recreated in stone, however, may tell us more than would actual textile fragments or impressions, for it documents the local response to the imported object' (Woodward 1977:233).

This quotation from the first paragraph of a short paper by Hiram Woodward titled '*A Chinese Silk Depicted at Candi Sewu*' provides the inspiration for this thesis. In 1977 Woodward had addressed a large decorative architectural feature on the external walls of a central Java temple dated to the late 8th century. This thesis will however address the detailed patterns appearing on a body of free-standing figurative sculpture from Java, dating from the 9th to the 14th centuries. This thesis argues that the textiles represented on the dress of these figures over this five-hundred year period clearly documents the local response to successive arrivals of textiles via trade.

This response occurred during the entire period studied by this thesis, however it was during the period known as Singhasāri in east Java, in the last quarter of the 13th century, where the changes in the textile patterns were most clearly evident. To illustrate these changes, further analysis of the sculptures will show the diversification of textile patterns. Indeed, the evidence first suggests that the diverse mix of textile patterns created on the dress of the sculptures reflected this local response to different imported textiles and possibly ceramics. We will first examine a small group of large stone statues and small bronze and gold statuettes and gold plaques, which originated from central and early east Java from the 8th to mid-11th centuries, after which an analysis of large stone statues from the Kaḍiri mid 11th to early 13th and Singhasāri period from mid-13 to the late 13th centuries, will be made. During the Singhasāri period 1222-1292, the importation and local production of textiles appears to have reached a peak, as evident from the diverse patterns depicted on the dress of the many and varied Hindu and Buddhist sculptures. Conversely, by the Majapahit period 1293-15th century, the textile designs on the sculptures appeared to show there was a degree of duplication of patterns. In addition there are four sculptures from Sumatra dating from the 11th to the 14th century which will be included in each of these chapters. The reason for included these few and only sculptures from Sumatra which display decorated textile patterns

highlights the continuity of certain textiles but also highlights the extraordinary diversity which existed in Java and Sumatra at the time.

1.1 Methodology

The theoretical framework for this research subject is of religious art history, the study of textile and to some degree the study of religions. The research into the sculptures of central and early east Java is followed by the Kaḍiri, Singhasāri and Majapahit periods. The approach to these sculptures will be empirical and the sculptures will be viewed as a holistic group, however in some instances we have to treat each sculpture separately. The analysis of the textile patterns will result in suggestions made for the source and suggested technique of their textile patterns, and to eventually group the sculptures by textile type.

We hope to demonstrate it is quite possible that the dress style and patterns on the sculptures represent the local fashion of the period. Some of the central and early east Javanese bronzes, for example, appear to represent the stylistic themes which arrived from northeast Indian and the Pāla kingdom of the 8th to the 12th centuries (Huntington and Huntington 1993:387). These Indian themes will be referred to as 'Indianized'. Furthermore, by creating a typology of all the Javanese sculptures between the 9th and 14th centuries depicting carved textile patterns, it will become clearly apparent that many outside forces were at play during this long period of history. Therefore the research question seeks to address both what these outside forces were and from where they originated, and then argues for the belief that the Javanese went through a process of acculturation, subsequently developing their own 'Javanese style' in dress and textile patterns. It is this Javanese style which will become apparent when it will be referred to in later chapters.

We will examine the Javanese dress styles and textile patterns which appeared to be in contrast to the rather Indianized style of dress from the central and early east Javanese period. The textile patterns evolved along with the dress styles, from originally reflecting earlier Indian traded cottons to later patterns which echoed more central Asian and Chinese style of patterning, where the dress then becomes more in tune with the local Javanese aesthetic.

Three different approaches were undertaken in order to arrive at a comparative analysis of data gathered. If at all possible we analysed the sculpture first hand, if not via good

photography. First, permanent collections in museums, temporary exhibitions and sculptures in museum storage, second, statues still on site outside at a *caṇḍi*, and third, old photos and drawings from the early 20th century. The photos and drawings will highlight a comparative analysis of how some of the textile patterns were represented in the early 20th century in comparison to the drawings presented by this thesis today. We will specify that the textile patterns on these sculptures do not represent folds by lines in the cloth, nor do they represent armour. Furthermore, it is unlikely the sculptures were painted and the lotus pad pattern, on which a number of the central Javanese sculptures stand does not represent a fabric. The task then was to illustrate and highlight the differences between the periods in Javanese art using the textile patterns as examples, the results of which can contribute to our knowledge of the history of the period.

1.2 Aims

During the 9th to 11th centuries, a specific central and early east Javanese style was in evidence in the sculptures and statuettes which were produced in great numbers. Lerner and Kossak have argued that during this period, despite there being no evidence of any dated statues, even of those recovered from relic chambers, we have to “rely exclusively on stylistic evaluation” (Lerner and Kossak:164). Of course ‘stylistic evaluation’ is hugely important, however the interpretation of the textile patterns, which has not been attempted before, can be addressed as one of the factors in this stylistic interpretation. Lerner and Kossak have analysed the Eilenberg Collection of central Javanese bronzes in depth, and stated:

“It is clear that the shift from central to east Java did not precipitate a break in the continuity of stylistic evolution”...“there appear to be few surviving Hindu bronzes from the east Javanese period, even though numerous Hindu images exist in other media”(Lerner and Kossak 1991:165).

They further propose that the reason for this is unknown. While this is true, we will argue that the textile patterns on the central and early east Javanese statuettes, whether Hindu or Buddhist, did not appear to differ, indicating it is not possible to identify the religious affiliation of central Javanese (or indeed the east Javanese) statues by their textiles. This thesis uses the textile patterns on the dress of these sculptures to create two main groups of pattern types in Chapter 2, to be termed Overall and Compound designs. Our aim is to make an analysis of the patterns and to propose what the possible textile inspiration was behind the patterns on these sculptures.

By the second half of the 13th century, the differences between the stone statues in Chapter 3 and those of the previous Chapter 2, are clear, this will also become very evident in Chapters 4. The 13th century sculptures in Chapter 2 display a far greater variety of textile patterns, and, therefore acknowledging there remain huge stylistic differences between the two periods, they become particularly evident in the depiction of the textile patterns.

Sedyawati makes a brief statement in her work on Kaḍiri and Singhasāri Gaṇeśa statuary: “every period has had its own spirit which has given rise to a specific style”(Sedyawati 1994:2). We agree with Sedyawati and would add that we hope to present a conclusive discussion that the analysis of ‘style’ designates the different categories of the statues but cannot always help with identifying the patterns.

1.3 Background Information

1.3.1 Periodization

Different terms have been used to describe this short period in history, they are: ‘Indo Javanese’, ‘Hindu-Javanese’ and ‘Ancient Javanese’. However Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer chose the terms Indo Javanese and Ancient Indonesian. These terms were implemented when cataloguing the many small metal sculptures which originated from the region in the 9th to 11th centuries (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:2). Within this thesis we will use the term central and early Javanese as a means of describing the many small decorated metal and stone statues which are depicted in Chapter 2, Singhasāri period in Chapter 3 and Majapahit period in Chapter 4.

1.3.2 Historical Context

Kulke reflects on past scholars many opinions on Southeast Asian history and relationships with India. It is not the purpose of this thesis to add to this discussion, but we will highlight, the “convergence hypotheses” as propose by Kulke. He suggests that the earliest Indo-Javanese art though Indian in feeling has a special character of its own (Kulke 1990:28-29).

It is this special character that we wish to enlarge on. Sculpture or statues were described in Old Javanese as *arcā*, in fact *arcā* means the image of a deity whether it is stone or bronze (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke:16, Zoetmulder 1982). According to Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, bronze casting and the creation of statues was one of the main artistic

achievements of this period. Both Hindu and Buddhist images were made, the larger figures to be used as cult images inside the shrines, with the smaller to be used at home, or dedicated to a temple after a pilgrimage (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984b:14). Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke explained these small bronze figurines had multiple uses, and said they:

“were more than just souvenirs, but rather objects to be revered, something in which one would consider the deity was present, or to which some of his essence had accrued “ (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:16).

Therefore they became portable objects for personal veneration and subsequently were carried from one country to the other. These small portable figurines were created during the period of the central Javanese kingdom known as Matarām, governed by two dynasties from the 8th to the 10th centuries. The religious affiliation during this period appeared to change through the rise and fall of the rulers, from Hīnayāna to Mahāyāna Buddhism and to the Tantric Vajrayāna forms of Buddhism. This was subsequently followed by Hinduism. In Java the caṇḍi are nearly all Śaivite, with only the subsidiary shrines dedicated to Brahmā and Viṣṇu. This is really only apparent at the Loro Jonggrang complex at Prambanan, built by the Hindu Sañjaya kingdom.

The art produced in these now rather Indianized kingdoms as Ma explains, may have been Indian in appearance and a direct consequence of Indian “commercial exploitation”, but the content was “entirely local” (Ma 1970:205). Kulke describes the development of Southeast Asian societies where he states, the Indian influence appeared to fall on fertile ground. In these societies there appeared to be an emergence of chiefs which was as likely as a direct effect of the Indian influence, but more likely to be because of inter-regional trade. There was also the presence of Brahmins who enhanced the status of the community as a whole, especially as ritual specialists in “rites of passage” ceremonies (Kulke 1990:20).

Turning to the Chinese influences felt in Java. Apart from official Song (960-1279) (Heng 2009:xiii) history, known as the *Song Shi*, the 1226 Chinese book by Zhao Rugua, titled *Zhufanzhi* was an important source of trade goods in the countries of the southern seas. Another publication by W.P. Groeneveldt who writes in *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya compiled from Chinese Sources*,¹ also gave us details of the trade of goods. One such

¹ These two publications have been reviewed in Chapter 2.

quote refers to the envoy from Java,² and the presents sent by the king to the Chinese emperor:

“The presents sent by the king were ivory, pearls, silk embroidered with flowers and gold, silk of different colours, sandalwood, cotton goods in various colours” (Groeneveldt 1960:17-18).

The description of these items sent to a Song emperor in China clearly indicates that Java was either making gold woven silk cloth or they had access to this type of cloth. We know from the *Zhufanzhi* that Malabar (western India) had “cotton stuffs of all colours” and that its products were traded to Śrīvijaya (Hirth and Rockhill 1965:88), and this was also said about Gujarat where the coloured cotton goods were traded to the Arab countries (Hirth and Rockhill:92). Merchants from India and often from the Arab lands used Śrīvijaya and the Malay Peninsula as their main entrepôt in the region. The chapter on the Arabs in the *Zhufanzhi* talks of the markets full of gold and silver damask, brocades, soft gold brocades and such like fabrics, which were taken to Śrīvijaya to barter (ibid. 116). However, the description of the native products in central Java does not mention any kind of silk fabric at all, only “foreign cotton cloth” and spices.

Guy has argued for there being a significant quantity of Chinese silk as another major component of the Belitung³ cargo, where at the time Persian and Arabic languages had become the *lingua franca* for the Asian Maritime world (Guy:22). As a result of this evidence, it is highly likely that the patterns depicted on the small statuettes and the larger stone sculptures display textiles that were not indigenous, but in many cases originated from India, Persia or indeed China. Because of the Chinese trade, we would maintain that there are sculptures which reflect Chinese textiles, see Appendix 3 Plate 13, known from the Tang period. Here we the small rosette flowers woven in a plain weave, and wax-resist plain weave textiles with an overall pattern of small squares. However the patterns on the central and

² It is not clear which part of Java, but the Javanese were always fighting Śrīvijaya so given the date of the envoys visit was in 992. Groeneveldt, W. P. 1960. *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya compiled from Chinese Sources*. Jakarta: C.V. Bhratara. :17-18, we can assume they were from central Java.

³ In 1998 this shipwreck was discovered between Bangka and Belitung Island of the coast of south Sumatra, contained the richest shipload of ancient Chinese products ever found. The ship probably sank between 830 and 840. It had collected a huge cargo from China and was on its way to Java with a large quantity of ceramics, silver ingots and gold. The ship was carrying diplomatic gifts from China to Java and then probably destined for Oman. Krom. 1926. *L'Art Javanais dans les Musées de Hollande et de Java*. Paris et Bruxelles: Librairie nationale D'Art et D'Histoire. :317-318.

early east Javanese figures show a far greater similarity to early Indian cotton textiles, than to Chinese textiles.

Turning to the historical background. When the rulers in Śrīvijaya period in Sumatra retreated, the Javanese kings consolidated their realm and moved their kingdom to east Java, where they established a new centre under the reign of Pu Siṇḍok (r.929-948), the first ruler (Munoz 2006:149). During this period, east Javanese history is divided into three dynastic periods: the first period which subsequently became the Kingdom of Kaḍiri (929-1222), followed by the Singhasāri period (1222-1292), and last the Majapahit (1293-1519) (Kinney 2003:Introduction).

What were the various impacts on these periods as far as the religious input was concerned. Acri talks of the mobile networks of human agents, carrying texts and icons through which Esoteric Buddhist discourses and practices spread far across Asia. Carrying a shared background of human, intellectual and environmental history (Acri 2016:1). He continues to state that Esoteric Buddhism:

“Shared significant common elements with Tantric Śaivism, to the extent that the two religions participated in an interdependence of discourse in such disparate domains” these included ritual and iconography (Acri:4).

As a result of this dialogue, we suggest the religion of the region represents a combination of two or more elements, a second definition perhaps describes syncretism as a ‘fusion’ of elements or belief. Acri has reassessed past scholars opinions on this subject and looked at past sources and states that:

“Śaivism and Buddhism did not constitute a merger or synthesis of religious doctrine or praxis but maintained their independence as two discrete systems having separate religious structures” (Acri 2015:269).

Major royal figures who elected to adopt Esoteric Buddhism as their official and personal cult, may also have supported Tantric rituals to achieve their political ends. Hunter has a different opinion of the religious affiliation of Kṛtanāgara and his personal fusion of Śaivite and Buddhist themes. He writes of the Sutasoma, where Tantular speaks of:

“a work that suggests he had fervently embraced the Javanese form of Mahayana Buddhism in his later years”....“we are not looking at a merger of religious establishments or a complete synthesis of religious doctrine that has

often been put forward as characteristic of east Javanese religion”(Hunter 2007:33).

However, prior to Kṛtanāgara there were monarchs who were described as incarnations of Visnu, but there was never a figure either before Kṛtanāgara or indeed after his death, who described himself many times over in inscriptions and in literary evidence as *Bhatara Siva- Buddha*, the deity who embodies both Śiva and Buddha (Hunter:34). These included Cambodia’s king Jayavarman VII (r.1181-1220), Kṛtanāgara in east Java and Kublai Khan in China (r.1260-1294). Having died out in India by this period, its local adaptation thrived in these localised situations, until the 15th century in Java and in the 14th century Sumatra under King Ādityavarman (r. ?-1375) (Ibid:8)

Stutterheim describes the term ‘Buddhism’ as particularly misleading in east Java, stating it might be better to term it Tantrism with a Buddhist base, however Tantrism is as much Śaivite as it is Buddhist (Stutterheim 1989:242). We will use the term Esoteric Buddhism as a way of describing this merging of Hinduism and Buddhism. The evidence of this particular form of Tantrism in Java appears to manifest itself in various ways. Whereas Nihom describes the evidence of tantrism in the Indonesian archipelago to be:

“Profoundly syncretic in nature, containing both Hindu and Buddhist elements whose separate identity was further attenuated by the local Javanese and Balinese genius” (Nihom 1994:73).

There is evidence of Esoteric Buddhism in the form of the textile patterns on the sculptures in the Singhasāri period along with the one image of Bhairava found in Sumatra. It appears the use of skull imagery in various forms along with different aspects of their iconography becomes apparent on a number of the textile patterns. One way to account for the evidence of this iconography is to refer to Nihom again, who states:

“That the postulated syncretic nature of Indonesian tantricism- that is, as an amalgamation of Indic and indigenous features or as an indigenous amalgamation of varying Indic traditions”(Nihom:73)

King Kṛtanāgara, the last king of the Singhasāri period appeared to practice Tantrism as we have suggested, this aspect is revealed to us by way of some of the textile patterns on the sculptures of the late 13th century.

We will address the chronological framework that surrounded Java during this period. In addition, we will also give some thought to aspects of the international trade. During the

short Matarām period of central and early east Java, a great number of caṇḍi⁴ were built and adorned with stone sculptures, but in most cases their textiles remained plain, as is evident from personal observation.⁵ On the other hand, there were many small icons cast in bronze, silver and gold, a great number of which were decorated with textile patterns. However, during the long Kaḍiri period and the following 13th and 14th centuries in east Java, Lunsingh Scheurleer has argued that although the casting of bronze figures appeared to cease, there appeared to be a resurgence in the building of caṇḍi (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994:81).

The art of Java was almost exclusively religious, aspects of which were adopted from the Indian subcontinent, such as Hinduism, chiefly Śaivism and, to a lesser extent, Vaishnavism, Mahayana Buddhism, with some Tantric elements. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw states that tantric symbolism and imagery were fully developed during the Pāla period, where the style and iconography appeared to have an enduring effect on the Hindu and Buddhist art of Java (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984b:11). It would appear the rules from the Indian *śilpa-shāstras* affected the statuettes from the central and early east Javanese period, where the sculptures reveal a precise knowledge of Indian religious texts and indeed, seem at times to be inspired directly by Indian iconographic treatises. On studying the sculptures, the Indian styles were not only evident in the iconography of the sculptures, but also very evident in the textile patterns. The tantric effect however, mentioned at length by Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, did not appear to be represented on the textile patterns of any central or early east Javanese sculptures, except for one sculpture, Cat.19. However the so called ‘tantric effect’ is somewhat apparent on some of the textile patterns of the sculptures, which originated from the Singhasāri period.

How did these textile patterns come about? The most convincing evidence upon which to base an argument is created by east Javanese artists, who showed a marked tendency to copy (or perhaps appropriated) from Indian and Chinese textile models, which can be seen from the many textile examples added to the sculptures in Chapters 2 and 3. The

⁴ In Java caṇḍi is the popular term for archaeological monuments dating from the ‘Indianized’ period. These structures could also be termed *cungkub* meaning the caṇḍi was a tomb. Soekmono, R. 1995. *The Javanese Candi, Function and Meaning*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. : 1. A monument which was the abode of the god or gods and was a reproduction of their dwelling place. Bernet Kempers, A. J. 1959. *Ancient Indonesian Art*. Amsterdam: C. P. J. van der Peet, . :22.

⁵ Observed through field research in May 2016 to central Javanese sites and museums.

idea that textile patterns and Indian culture arrived from India, has been suggested by Bernet Kempers, who stated: “Indonesia did not derive its notions of Indian culture from just one or two parts of the continent only” (Bernet Kempers 1959:10), as it appears contacts were made with many regions of the Indian subcontinent. The influences of Buddhism reached the island of Java through centres of Buddhist art in eastern India (Bautze-Picron 1993:279), whereas Hinduism arrived from contacts with south and then western India. However, during the greater part of the Hindu-Buddhist period, the influence was generally felt from the northeast of India, and here Bernet Kempers describes India as:

“The main starting point of Indian influence and inspiration. Here were to be found the sacred sites of Buddhism visited by many pilgrims from abroad. Here too was the famous monastery-university of Nālandā” (Bernet Kempers 1959:11).

It was these influences as suggested by Bernet Kempers and Bautze-Picron, which were subsequently absorbed into Javanese art (Bautze-Picron 1993:277), which is apparent in the small bronze statuettes of central and early east Java and to a lesser extent in the Singhasāri stone statues.

1.3.3 Material of Cast Bronzes and Stone

In Old Javanese there is a term *pande* meaning “skilled worker, or smith” (Zoetmulder 1982), the gold smith is referred to as *pande-mas* or goldsmith and the addition of the word *tambaga* to make the term a bronze or copper worker. There appears to be no mention of the manufacturing of bronze statuettes at all in literature. We could suggest that the bronze smith was a simple craftsman who worked in a small unit of apprentices (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:13-14). It is also suggested that the images cast in bronze far outnumber those made in gold and silver, this does not necessarily mean there was an imbalance in the numbers of different types of sculptures cast, only that the gold and silver statues could have been used to pay local taxes and could also have been melted down. On close analysis, the workmanship of the statues in gold and silver does not appear to be of a finer nature to that of the bronze figures, which are often rougher in execution (Fontein, Soekmono and Suleiman 1971:40). The greatest achievement of the bronze caster of the central Javanese period was in the highest artistic expression achieved in the:

“Introspective spirituality and the nobility of expression, epitomised by the highest ideals of Buddhism, in a convincing manner such as no Indian sculptor ever achieved” (Fontein et al.:41).

The majority of the bronzes are cast by way of the lost wax process, a number of the gold plaques were made by repoussé and hammered patterns from the front (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984a:16). The smooth surface of the gold allows the craftsman to hammer in very small textile pattern details, such as Cat. 28 and Cat. 35. The small group of four gold plaques appear to be made by the repoussé technique. There are far fewer bronze statues in east Java compared to central Java, however the few statues in the early east Javanese style continue to provide evidence of the Indianized influence in the region, but do not represent the local style of the later east Javanese period. We cannot account for the cessation of bronze casting in the east Javanese period, but Fontein has suggested:

“No fully satisfactory explanation of the disappearance of bronze statuary can be given, especially as there is plenty of statuary in stone” (Fontein 1990:56).

These stone statues are of varying qualities and colours, ranging from a fine stone in pale grey to almost white where a more detailed carving of patterns is possible. There is also a dark grey to black stone that is rough to the touch, where any intricate details such as the textile patterns appear difficult to carve, which is clearly evident in Cat. 34. The statues which appeared in east Java begin in this thesis with Cat. 38, a grey stone with a rough surface, where the carving is precise but also ‘lumpy’ in appearance, in contrast the statues which emerged by the mid -13th century when a smooth pale grey to almost white andesite stone was used for the statues. By now the carving of all the details was very finely executed on the smooth surface of the stone. However this is not the case with all the statues, as again in our opinion it must have depended on the workshop as what stone they were able to access at what period in history.

The carving of stone sculpture appears to have proliferated during the east Javanese period, where there was an apparent proclivity for Śaivite statues preferred over that of Buddhist ones. By the Majapahit period a cult developed of a devotion to the deified ancestor, where the elite regarded these two religions as different forms of the same truth (Robson and Prapanca 1995:3, Fontein 1990:49). Sedyawati has proposed that the artists and craftsman who made the statues had a low status in society, they were a class of professionals called *wulu-wulu*. This group of craftsman included woodcarvers, performers and sculptors alike. Some lived in the villages and paid taxes and some in the palace compound so served the state or royalty (Sedyawati 1990:106). We suggest perhaps it was these palace based

sculptors who had access to creating the sculptures for the Caṇḍi Singosari and Caṇḍi Jago sites, who would then have had access to different variety of textiles from which to imitate the textile patterns on the sculptures. It is clearly apparent that to make a direct replica, for example the animal roundel patterns, would be almost impossible to carve an exact copy. Therefore a local Javanese version was made which reflected the knowledge the Javanese sculptor had to interpret the patterns in his own way. As we have no idea what was being interpreted we can only guess as to what happened at that time.

1.3.4 Information on the textiles on the sculptures

The textile patterns visible on the central and early east Javanese bronzes, show a mixture of designs. In the simplest form and certainly the greatest number, are overall repeated patterns of a series of floral forms, small circles and dots, floral designs surrounded by circles, and simple patterns in wavy horizontal bands. The more complex patterns are a form of compound arrangements, made up of either horizontal or vertical double bands infilled with geometrical pattern forms and floral motifs. In some instances the patterns were very detailed and densely carved. Perhaps we need to look at other medium and past scholars work on the interpretation of textile patterns and techniques, which provides an explanation as to what the patterns and techniques represented on the stone and bronze statues are reflecting.

A number of scholars have looked at this problem of identifying what the technique was, represented in translating a pattern on a painting in Buddhist monasteries. For example Klimburg-Salter in 1994, Flood in 2009 and Guy and Thakar in 2014, all have raised these issues. Klimburg-Salter describes “honouring the deity with fine textiles” (Klimburg-Salter June 1994:160), she describes the large scale of the paintings of the 11th century Poo manuscript, allows for extraordinary fineness and detailed and complex patterning. The broad variety of patterns points to a sophisticated cosmopolitan taste and a broad range of cultural contacts based on the strength of their economics. She also suggests that the fabrics were probably of a light weight as they lie close to the body, and makes the assumption that the patterns show specific techniques probably copied from an existing textile. As the painted textiles cannot be attributed to a local industry, she proposes they originated from Gujarat in western India which has a long history of resist dyed textiles (Klimburg-Salter:158-160). Flood looks at a royal scene at the Dukhang temple in Alchi, and describes the dress of:

“Repeated pattern of roundels containing rampant lions, a design that may reflect the impact of contemporary Persian textiles”, “a form of dress which is widely dispersed in Central Asia and eastern Iran” (Flood 2009:66).

We conclude with some examples from Guy and Thakar whose work on the Sumtsek chapel at Alchi is extensive, they describe the paintings as:

“Nowhere in the subcontinent can the dynamic movement and exchange of textiles be better studied than here. The chapel contains a series of wall paintings that embody the most complex visual record of the textiles in circulation in medieval north India”. “The monumental clay bodhisattvas serve as a unique inventory of the luxury textiles in circulation at the time” (Guy and Thakar 2015:13).

These three studies provide us with the evidence needed to state the origins and types of textiles reflected on the bronze, gold and stone statues. The many bronzes not included in this thesis⁶ also display variations of the first group of patterns, the small repeated overall designs, which appear to certainly be the majority. If we are to reference Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke’s 1988 work, and try to place the sculptures in this thesis into their stylistic grouping, there does not appear to be any point of reference to go by. However we suggest the choice of which textile pattern to place on which sculpture was at random and cannot therefore be grouped by period at all. What we do observe is that when a sculpture is carved in stone in this early period, the textile pattern tends to be a variation of a repeat pattern of a rosette or daisy type of flower in an overall design with no horizontal or vertical bands at all.

However this does not appear to be the case when we switch to the east Javanese period of the Singhasāri to study the stone sculptures. The textile pattern group known as *ceplak*, and a pattern called *kawung*, is a series of interlocking circles of various kinds. This pattern appears to dominate about half of the sculptures, the other dominating pattern type represents a combination of rosette flowers, stylised lotus flowers and geometric patterns set with ‘chains’ or *rantai*, made up of vertical and horizontal bands. There are two pattern types made up of adjoining roundels with various mythical and real animal motifs, the last groups consists of textile patterns with skulls and one-eyed *kāla*, along with stylised confronting *kāla*-head motifs. During the Majapahit period the sculptures only exhibit one pattern type that is

⁶ This was for the desire not to have repetition and space constraints.

the *kawung* in various different representations. This could be described as ‘elite self-fashioning’ but in a simplified form compared to some of the earlier Singhasāri categories. Two sculptures from Sumatra have been included in this group, one shows skull patterns Cat. 52 and the other stylised lotus flowers and a unique pattern of lotus flowers and scrolling vines Cat.54.

Of particular note are two seated sculptures of ancestor figures wearing full Javanese or Malay type of dress with a long sleeved jacket. In one instance the garments are carved with an overall pattern of a daisy flower and in the case of the sculpture from Sumatra, the



Fig. 1.2 Seated male figure, Caṇḍi Jago. After Brandes 1909



Fig. 1.1 Male jacket with a pattern *surjan lurik*. 21st century, with permission of Eka Rusdianawati

pattern appears to more closely represent a Persian inspired motif, Cat. 36 and Cat.37. In our opinion this garment could be termed a *baju* or *kebaya*. The word *baju* was originally derived from the Persian word *bad zu*, which has subsequently been adopted by the Malay language. The term *kebaya* is probably derived from the Arabic word *kaba* or *abaya*, Fraser-Lu also states the *kebaya* was possibly a garment of Arabic origin (Fraser-Lu 1988:67), and the word *kebaya* originates from the Arabic *habaya*, meaning a long tunic opening down the front (Fraser-Lu:80, note 11).

In today's Malay language, an upper body garment, whether with or without sleeves is generally termed a *baju*, a word also used for a blouse, robe, tunic or coat. The expression *baju* appeared in Javanese texts dating from the early 11th century, and in Malay manuscripts

from the late 14th century (Lee 2015:44). Peter Lee adds a footnote to a commentary from Ma Huan, a Chinese traveller to Southeast Asia in 1420, who states:

“in Java women wore an upper garment, a short jacket with coloured cloth”...“a *baju* with a V shaped opening and a wrapped skirt, a shoulder cloth or *seléndang*”(ibid. 44-45, note 36).

As a comparison at Caṇḍi Jago in east Java, we see the male ascetic Mucukunda (Klokke 2000:25) is sitting on his couch pointing threateningly with the right arm, the left arm rests on the thigh (Fig. 1.2), this photograph is replicated from Brandes in 1909⁷. The figure is overly large compared to the rest of the relief figures, and does not display the *wayang*⁸ features of the remainder of the Jago reliefs. He is depicted wearing a long sleeved *baju* and trousers shown finishing at the ankles. Both jacket and trousers are carved with a clearly depicted horizontal striped textile pattern. A type of jacket with vertical stripes, is today known to be worn by palace guards and is termed *surjan lurik*.⁹ (Fig. 1.1). Moreover, the striped patterning in either direction might indicate it was woven as a *lurik*, the term used in central Java to describe narrow stripes.¹⁰

We would like to suggest an alternative to Klokke’s description of Mucukunda as an ascetic, for the following reasons based on the clothing. In the Balinese and Javanese tradition an ascetic or a priest will be depicted with piled hair, which is visible in this image, however this in our opinion is the only nod to an ascetic. A priest or ascetic would be bare chested with the *upavīta* depicted across the torso as we see in the reliefs at Caṇḍi Jago, and at Caṇḍi

⁷ ‘The rare manuscript evidence provided by stone and bronze sculpture, and the rare manuscript references to costumes worn in Southeast Asia from the 8th to the 16th century, indicate that women wore ankle length skirt cloths, often elaborately folded and pleated, but did not wear upper body garments’. (Lee, P. 2015. *Sarong Kebya: Peranakan Fashion in an Interconnected World*. Singapore: ACM.:44

⁸ *Wayang kulit* puppets are the leather puppets made for the shadow theatre, hence the figures are carved in one dimension and present a flat sideways appearance, therefore ‘*wayang*’ is often used as a term to describe the way a figure looks if it is presented ‘sideways’ and rather flat. As described here the relief sculpture in question was not carved in the *wayang* style of the rest of Jago relief figures. Kinney has said that no elements of the *wayang* appear in central Javanese art, whereas in east Java they are numerous. Kinney, A. R. 2003. *Worshipping Siva and Buddha, The Temple Art of East Java*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.:40

⁹ Despite the stripes following in vertical rather than horizontal lines, the concept of the jacket is the same and would indicate that the figure at Jago is quite likely to represent a palace guard of some sort. Ref Eka Rusdiana, See Appendix 3.

¹⁰ www.kain-lurik.com. The striped jackets worn by the palace soldiers at the *Kraton*. The simple, hand-woven fabric that the jackets are made from is called *lurik*, not particularly well known to the outside world.

Panataran in the 14th century. An ascetic would not be depicted wearing a form of trousers, but a long *kain* to the ankles, again as depicted in the reliefs. Lastly his physiognomy appears to be refined, he wears large ear ornaments and does not have a beard which all ascetics in the reliefs appear to be depicted with facial hair. In the Indic world an ascetic would not be dressed in fine patterned cloths, he would not be seated in the 'European pose' or appear to be larger than the rest of the reliefs, that would be preserved for a person of authority or a king perhaps. These alternative suggestions inferred from the dress style, to the status of Mucukunda, are purely of our own volition.

Java has a rich heritage of textiles which have played a key and symbolic role in the culture for centuries. Early texts found in Java and the metal and stone figures attest to the uses of these textiles. The dress styles as they are depicted on the statuettes and sculptures and provide a 'key' for identification by the various terms used to describe parts of the dress and patterns. This is expanded in the Glossary 6.2. The Javanese or Bahasa Indonesian terms will be used in the full catalogue of the sculptures in Appendix 1. However in Volume 1 we will use the English words for the dress, apart from *upavīta*, *seléndang*, *kain* and *sinjang*. The terms used to describe the key textile patterns are recognised from the *kakawin* and *kidung* poetry dating from the 10th to the 16th centuries,¹¹ where textiles appeared to serve many functions from ritual gifts to currency, but the primary use was for clothing the body, of both the living and the dead (McCabe Elliot 1996:16).

The fashioning of the dress on the statues of east Java includes a number of different garments, both tailored and untailored. Meanwhile the dress styles of the central Javanese figurines are depicted with a loincloth or *dhoti*, often more closely related to those of bronzes from eastern India from the 9th to 11th centuries. These central Javanese sculptures have been described by Gangoly as "Indian Art on Javanese soil" (Gangoly 1928:47). However opinions have changed since 1928, and in some cases the small Javanese bronze statues are direct replicas of Indian art, but in most cases they are "imaginative adaptations and truly Javanese in style" (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:2, Reichle 2007:108). But what is a "Javanese style" as suggested by Gangoly and Lunsingh Scheurleer? The statuettes presented here are in fact dressed in a mixture of Indian and Javanese style of dress. The Javanese style

¹¹ Details of all the texts and textile terms are listed in Appendix 2

reflects the wearing of a *kain* or long cloth. If the statue is standing, the cloth falls to the ankles with a few neat folds depicted at the front. If the statue is seated the folds of the *kain* will be depicted on the top of the lotus cushion, lying in many neat pleats. In some cases the limbs are in evidence beneath the fabric, but as the period moves to the 13th to 14th centuries, limbs are no longer visible beneath the fabric and the dress style has become totally Javanese in fashion with the wearing of the long *sinjang*.

We will summarize by problematizing the difficulties in distinguishing the textile techniques of the textiles represented on the stone statues, versus the small bronze, silver and gold statuettes. First the type and quality of the andesite stone can vary enormously within central Java, and this plays a great part in the type of patterning which can be added to the stone. With reference to the bronzes, the smooth surface in many cases lends itself to a complex type of pattern, however this is not always the case as seen in the small figures from early east Java such as Cat.17, 18 and 33. Here the uneven surface as the bronze finish does not show any patina, which leaves the carver with little option but to create a simpler decoration on the *kain*. Second, if we look at the types of patterns themselves to note the differences between these groups, and only by knowing the types of patterns created by different techniques can we try to deduce what the textile techniques might have been replicating. We are mostly referring to block printed cotton textiles seen with overall patterns of small floral designs and circles in random repeats, and textiles woven with an ikat design which appears as dots and dashes and geometric patterns carved within horizontal bands. However the third group includes most of the small gold statuettes and plaques, where the smooth surface and the malleable nature of the metal lends itself to far finer depiction of patterns. This is most evident in Cat.35 where the *kain* we suggest is the earliest evidence of a sarong or *tapis* from Lampung in south Sumatra. This we suggest is the precursor to the *tapis* seen originating from this region from the beginning of the Islamic period (Fig. 2.49).

1.3.5 Summary of Dress Styles

This chapter summarises the analysis and the information gathered regarding the dress and textile patterns of the Javanese. A knowledge of Old Javanese literature and texts



Fig. 1.3 Wayang Wong dancers, 1912, image from Augusta de Wit



Fig. 1.4 Trade *patola* 19th century, the same pattern and type of textile as depicted in the de Wit photograph. Pullen Collection

is essential for the study of dress and patterns terms, as the descriptions given within the texts aid us to link the sculptures to the textile patterns in existence today. The method as suggested by Pak Dwi ¹² needed for this thesis is to study the sculptures first, followed by the texts and then the ethnography, i.e. the comparative material available today. For instance, the textiles depicted on the *wayang kulit* shadow puppet figures and within old photographs such as the *wayang wong* performers in 1912 (Fig. 1.3), help us to further understand the different types of dress on the sculptures. The multitude of sashes and belts across the body are clearly indicated on the performers, the *wayang wong* dancer is clearly wearing a trade *patola* cloth as his *sash* (Fig. 1.4), held out to the side of the body. The standing figure is shown wearing a short sleeveless upper body garment or jacket, similar in style to the sculptures from Caṇḍi A at Singosari. ¹³ If we extrapolate from the present day court dress

¹² From the University Malang, east Java.

¹³ All of these features hint at the longevity of this Hindu Buddhist style of east Javanese dress, which subsequently became absorbed and adapted into the dress for dancers and royalty to be used only at the Mataram *kraton* of Surakarta. In Javanese culture the court is the centre of political and religious authority, as a result of which numerous ceremonies, many of which include elements dating back to the Hindu Buddhist period

styles, back to the 13th to 14th centuries it is evident where these traditions originated, placing the stone statues as templates of textile patterns and dress styles in existence at the time.

We will also maintain that Indian textiles patterns, despite their longevity on the international traded markets, were perhaps not the only source of inspiration for the patterns on the Javanese sculptures. During the 11th and 12th centuries there appeared to be a sharp increase in population growth in Java, which led to an increase in wealth and further overseas contact for a wider range of the Javanese populace. This increase in growth appeared to have led to a development of Javanese social structures, but it also resulted in the development of the types of textiles which graced the statues. Perhaps this comment best articulates the above:

“The textiles portrayed on the east Javanese statuary were not all meant to represent Indian imports, however Javanese and Indian aesthetics did diverge to a degree. The Javanese patterns are denser than their Indian counterparts” (Wisseman Christie 1991b:18).

The motifs created on the *sinjang* of the 14th century sculptures almost consistently resemble various forms of the pattern known as *ceplok*, the symbolism of which refers to the Old Javanese Austronesian (Tarling 1992:311) concept of cosmic magical classification. An example of which is depicted on the statue of Cat.63. In Javanese philosophy the king equals god in the world, therefore the king and queen are seen depicted wearing a *sinjang kawung*, a “cloth to protect the world” (Sumaryoto 1993:36). If this is so, they were dressed as having observed religious offerings and therefore were attired as if they had passed through a “rite of passage” ceremony. As Fraser-Lu has suggested, textiles were important in all stages of life in Southeast Asia, from birth to death (Fraser-Lu 1988:73). We can also postulate these statues were created and adorned as though for a “rite of passage” ceremony.

The study of the textile patterns which we see depicted on the sculptures help us to realise that very little has evolved over the preceding millennia. It is these sculptures, especially the figures from the 13th and 14th centuries, that show both continuity of a design and yet originality of designs. If the concept of “architype textiles” is a viable one, then the

in Java, and the tradition of the importance of the ancestors. The preservation of these traditions is central to Javanese life. Miksic, J. 2012. *The Court of Surakarta*. Jakarta: BAB Publishing Indonesia. :85

idea of a series of patterns that have evolved through the centuries and are re-made is entirely possible. As a result, we maintain that some of the patterns on the stone sculptures were of 'foreign' origin. Generally speaking, apart from a few examples the sculptures of east Java did not reflect the textile pattern terms as described in the Old Javanese literature, but more often reflected unique textile patterns not seen on any other sculptures in India, Tibet or indeed other Southeast Asian countries. We cannot view Chinese, Malay, Javanese, Indian and Central Asian as separate cultures, confined to separate periods in history (Lee 2015:30), as hybridization is an ancient and ongoing global process. As Flood has stated, "people and things have been mixed up for a very long time" (Flood 2009). It is this mix which we see in Java in the 13th and early 14th centuries.

1.4 Sources of Information

1.4.1 Inscriptions and Old Javanese Texts

Zoetmulder describes the term *kalangwan* as the art of writing poetry in ancient Java, was given the name, that is, 'beauty'. The knowledge of this artistic heritage of Java remained virtually unknown except in neighbouring Bali. It is only through the study of Old Javanese literature that a glimpse into the field of *kalangwan* is possible (Zoetmulder 1974:preface). These *kalangwan* aid in the further studies of details of life in Java during the Classical Period. Our knowledge of the history of this period of ancient Java is mainly derived from these charters and inscriptions, often written on copper plates or on stones known as *prasasti*,¹⁴ preserved often as 'language monuments'.

A number of different languages appear in the text of these ancient documents. For example, until the 9th century only a few inscriptions survived in Sanskrit and Old Malay (Zoetmulder:3-4). The term Old Javanese however, is given to the form of language in which the earliest Javanese literature was written. The language often includes words originating from Sanskrit and despite the influence of foreign terms, the Old Javanese language remains essentially an Indonesian one (ibid. 7). Old Javanese poetry, known as *kidung* and *kakawin*, dates from the 10th to 16th centuries,¹⁵ and was composed in the sanskritised form of Old Javanese. The *kakawin* are court epics modelled on the *kavya* of South Asia in the form of the

¹⁴ Stone inscriptions

¹⁵ The dating of this literature is often impossible to determine with accuracy.

Ramayana and *Mahābhārata* (Kieven 2013:22) and although formed in Indian metres, was written in Old Javanese, whereas the *kidung* were written in Middle Javanese. Two of the historical *kidung*, the *Kidung Harsawijaya* and the *Kidung Rangga Lawe* (Hunter 2007:30), deal with the rebellion surrounding the demise of Kṛtanāgara in 1292 and the founding of the Majapahit (Sidomulyo 2010:14). Hunter sought to unravel the textual evidence from *kakawin* and *kidung* literature, especially the KH and the KRL. The KH does not treat Kṛtanāgara as the ruling monarch in Singhasāri, but assigns the title to a close relative and ally of his father (Hunter 2007:28). He also discusses the hiatus in *kakawin* composition which owes its major impetus to the fusion of Śaivite and Buddhist themes and to the career of Kṛtanāgara. The gift of a statue by Kṛtanāgara carved with an inscription in Old Malay was found at Rambahan on the Batang Hari River in Sumatra. It can be presumed that irrefutable evidence taken from the inscription showed Kṛtanāgara was establishing suzerainty over Jambi to create a trading alliance between Jambi and Singhasāri (Hunter:34-39). See Appendix 4, Map 7. The statue Cat.54 is of a contiguous date to that of Cat.53, could the Rambahan statue which was sent to Jambi from Singhasāri have a bearing on the fact these two statues appear similar and made at a similar date. We propose there is no connection as to the origin of these statues, we base our assumptions on the style and type of the carving and the quality of the textile patterns depicted on either deity.

The KH holds many descriptions of dress styles and patterns, as does the *Serat Tatatjara*, a text on Traditional Customs, which documents Javanese customs and traditions with numerous accounts and references to dress. One such example, for instance, recounts Raden Wijaya, the king of Majapahit in the 13th century, who wore a '*sinjang kawung*'.¹⁶ During the 18th to 20th centuries, at the time of the Surakarta kingdom, this pattern was only worn by the servants of the king (Sumaryoto 1993:37). The use of this term as a form of dress for a king during the Majapahit period would indicate the importance a long cloth with a *kawung* pattern held at the time. Hence this might justify the appearance of the *sinjang* with a *kawung* motif on so many of the Majapahit sculptures.

Sumaryoto writes of the Javanese texts through the centuries which often contain passages referring to prominent characters and the dress or costume they wear, partly made

¹⁶ *Sinjang* is the old Javanese word for a long cloth, and *kawung* the word for the pattern. These terms will be discussed further in this chapter.

of a cloth. The texts only describe the types and the patterns, but we have no knowledge as to how the cloth looked or how it was actually worn. Sumaryoto suggests we can only conjecture as to the dress of the ancient Javanese and “construct a correlation with the patterns we find in present day dress” (Sumaryoto 1993:31). As an example of dress for a Javanese prince, one only has to look at a couple being married today, who requested to be dressed *jangkêp*,¹⁷ to see the continuity and the comparative dress being used.¹⁸

1.4.2 Nāgarakṛtāgama

The Nāg. or Nāgarakṛtāgama¹⁹ is an epic *kakawin* or poem publication from 1365 by Prapañca, its original name as used by the author was the Deśawarṇana. Prapañca was the Superintendent of Buddhist Affairs at the court of King Rājasanagara. The poem consists of ninety eight cantos, each canto containing stanzas usually made up of four lines of text (Robson and Prapanca 1995:1). The poem gives a detailed account of contemporary matters and religion in connection with the court during the Majapahit kingdom (Bade 2002:96), but it also includes important information about King Kṛtanāgara, the great-grandfather of Hayam Wuruk. This text highlights many facts about Old Javanese society from a certain perspective and relates important first-hand information (Zoetmulder 1974:350).

1.4.3 Sīma – Evidence of Textile terminology

Many hundreds of *sīma*²⁰ charters have survived, the bulk of which date from the mid-9th to the mid-14th centuries. The charters record the transfer of tax and labour rites by a ruler or high official to a specified beneficiary, mostly a religious foundation. They remain a

¹⁷ The word *jangkêp* means to be dressed for your wedding in a full set of cloths replicating the royal figures in the ancient stone sculptures. Reference Eka Rusdiana, Appendix 3

¹⁸ In conversation with Pak Dwi Cahyone, University Negeri, Malang, May 2016, see Appendix 3.

¹⁹ The poem is known by the name Nāgarakṛtāgama (the kingdom to which it is ordered by holy tradition), a name which does not appear in the text but in the colophon of the manuscript. Brandes published the text in a provisional edition in 1902. It is possibly the most widely studied *kakawin* and Prapañca its best known author. Zoetmulder, P. J. 1974. *Kalangwan, A Survey of Old Javanese Literature*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.:350

²⁰ The *sīma* tax-transfer charters are best described as “record the transfer of tax and labour rights by a ruler or highly placed taxing authority to a specified beneficiary, in most cases the beneficiary was a religious foundation enjoying royal or aristocratic patronage often connected with the veneration of royal ancestor figures whose prestige seems to have underpinned political power.” “As a source of information concerning economic and social history of Java the *sīma* charters are valuable, and have the advantage over the metric *kakawin* literature of being fixed in time and focused inward upon the shared concerns of all strata of Javanese society of their day” Wisseman Christie, J. (1993b) Texts and Textiles in Medieval Java. *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 80.1, 181-211.

valuable source of the economic and social history of Java (Wisseman Christie 1993b:181). Within the body of the *sīma* documents was the most persistent reference to textiles found in the gift lists (Wisseman Christie 1991b:11, Wisseman Christie:182). The interpretation of the *sīma* are important for their significance in the study of Javanese textiles today, the level of detail given varying considerably throughout the centuries. For example, in the 9th and early 10th centuries the charters were dominated by lists of gifts given at ceremonies, such as hundreds of pieces of cloth presented to individuals, members of the royal family and high officials (ibid. 183). By the mid-11th century the preoccupation was with sumptuary regulations governing insignia and rank and the accompanying paraphernalia. Restrictions were applied to the use of certain types of textiles and this afforded some perspective on the role of those textiles in early Javanese societies (ibid. 182). The information gained from the *sīma* also describes the colours and names of textile patterns and the names and types of professional trades during that period (Wisseman Christie 1991b:13). For example, terms mentioned in the *wnang* or 'privilege' lists of the 11th to 14th centuries, include the terminology used to describe *bananten*, a type of cloth. *Bananten* is described in the privilege lists many times, and appears to indicate a cloth, either coloured or patterned, used as a hanging or a furnishing (Wisseman Christie:14). The list also includes a number of patterns with given names, mostly terms relating to flowers, but one for example, the word *navagraha*²¹ pattern could be interpreted in a number of ways (Wisseman Christie 1991b:27, Appendix 3), perhaps²² suggestive of the *jilamprang* pattern,²³ a motif which quite possibly is the interpretation of the *navagraha* pattern that was referred to in the privilege list.

The technique of weaving *ikat*²⁴ known in Indian from at least the 6th century, here Guy and Thakar described the first visual evidence of ikat was depicted in the elite textiles on the mural paintings at Ajanta. Here we also see figures depicted wearing short *dhotis* patterned with the ikat technique (Guy and Thakar 2015:13), identifiable by the horizontal

²¹ Nine planets or nine realms, are living energies that put out waves of energies. <http://veda.wikidot.com/navagrahas>

²² Our interpretation of these two pattern types is based on the observation that both these patterns are made up using the number nine, and a series of intersecting motifs.

²³ It became of the most popular motifs amongst Indonesian textile weavers, especially in Nusa Tenggara. (Warming, W. & M. Garwoski. 1981. *The World of Indonesian Textiles*. London: Serinda Publications.:104

²⁴ A cloth which is patterned by a resist method of tying the pattern in the warp or the weft. (ibid.:56

bands across the textile. In Java, ikat was executed on a body tension loom and was probably known in the central Javanese period, this is suggested with reference to a stone carving of a girl weaving a cloth with a diamond shaped pattern depicted seated in an open pavilion. This carving is on a stone pillar base now at the Trowulan Museum²⁵ (Bernet Kempers 1976:241). From this evidence it is safe to assume that *ikat* textiles were woven during the central Java period. Likewise a knowledge of both red and blue dyes, *wungkudu* and *indigo* that were used for warp *ikat* textile weaving was also recorded in the *sīma* charters (Wisseman Christie 1991b:14). The gift lists, particularly during the 9th to 10th centuries appear to have very little reference to the textile patterns, however they do mention the quality, place of origin, colour, floral or vegetal motifs, price, and the function or use. There is a preponderance of cottons in red and blue; however one piece of white cloth is designated to have come from India, described with patterns that appear quite commonly on the small statues, such as scattered flowers, circles and dots across a plain ground (Wisseman Christie 1991b:12). Examples of this kind of cloth are depicted on a number of the statues in Chapter 2.

The terms *menanun* and *tenun*²⁶ described a weaver or weaving. The terminology used in the 11th and 12th centuries often include terms for colour. For instance, in Old Javanese the expression for drawing with colour is *tulis warna*, and the words *tulis mas* mean a technique used by the late 12th century to produce textiles decorated with gold-leaf glue work. Christie hints at Persian gold decorated cloth as the possible source for this technique (Wisseman Christie 1999:241). By observing the types of patterns on the sculptures of the 13th century, it is quite likely a number of the textiles are depicted with a pattern which could be described as *tulis mas*. The deep *haute* relief in which the patterns are carved and the types of patterns, could easily be replicating *prada* or brocaded textiles. This terminology suggests that some of the sculptures appear with the same form of a raised surface, these are especially evident in the figures from Caṇḍi A at Singosari.

Christie describes the role and status of the recipients at *sīma* ceremonies, which impacted both men and women. For example, lengths of cloth for a male are a *yu*, meaning pair or set or *hlai*, meaning piece or sheet (these terms abbreviated from the Sanskrit term

²⁵ We visited the Trowulan Museum in May 2016, however this stone pillar had been moved to storage and not available to photograph.

²⁶ *Tenun* is used today to described a woven cloth (Indonesia English Dictionary)

meaning 'pair or set'). The measurements of the cloth also depict the standard lengths, these cloths are depicted on the figures in the reliefs of the central Javanese temples. Here the figure is shown with the cloth drawn up between the legs. It is thought that the *yu* and *hlai* must refer to the width of the cloth. For the female, apparently the terminology differs, and they received a *kain* which was measured in *blah/wlah*, a Javanese word for piece (Wisseman Christie 1993b:183). The term *kain* is the commonly held word to describe a sheet of cloth worn around the hips of a female. The term *vlah* in the Old Khmer language suggests a borrowing from Old Javanese, which in turn perhaps also suggests that Malay traders carried cloth to trade in ports along the Mekong River. Christie has suggested this might negate the popular belief at that time that there was less direct trade between Indian and Cambodia than there was between India and the islands of maritime Southeast Asia (Wisseman Christie:184).

Turning to the traders themselves, in Java an extensive number of traders were listed. One for example is the term *acadar* or the *cadar*, which meant the weaver of cloth. It is assumed that the cloth woven by these professional weavers would have been finer than the cloth woven in the domestic household. The term *cadar* today can now refer to a type of gauze, in a number of the gift lists it is linked with the term *tapis*, (which means thin, fine or transparent) and could be related to silk textiles (ibid. 189). These might also indicate that during the 13th century the Javanese were capable of making fine fabrics, good enough to be exported to China. Whether any of these fabrics have been represented on the sculptures is unknown, however it is quite possible that a type of gold woven cloth, perhaps replicating an imported pattern, was the template for some of the patterns on the sculptures as seen in Chapter 3. Some of the examples in Appendix 3 Plate 15, clearly indicate patterns of concentric interlocking oval shapes, lotus flower medallions, rosettes, patterns which are so similar to the many variations of the *kawung* design. These are also clearly reflected in the Xixia to Yüan period silk textiles seen in the China National Silk Museum.

We have suggested in this thesis that many of the patterns could be representing a *songket*. Therefore to identify a textile on a stone image as *songket*, needs argumentation and counter argumentation. The argument for *songket*, comes from research in Minangkabau textiles in Sumatra. The *kain balapak* (in the Minangkabau region in west Sumatra) is a *songket* cloth with a dense decoration of gold thread, this cloth is worn during festive occasions as a *seléndang* or a *kain*. Kartiwa describes the origins of *songket*, and its patterns

as known from prehistoric times, as we see similar patterns on earthenware from west Sumatra. The geometric designs are seen as abstract forms of flora and fauna, and some of Chinese inspiration. The foreign influences which have been felt from the prehistoric period and during the Hindu period manifest itself in the use of silk, with silver and gold threads, materials originally unknown in Indonesia. The term *kain songket* applies to the technique of weaving patterns on silk with the supplementary threads of gold or silver. The term itself is derived from *sungkit* or *jungkit*,²⁷ before metal yarns were introduced coloured threads were usually employed (Kartiwa 1979:57-69). This description argues for the term *songket* being the preferred patterning of many of the Singosari sculptures, based on the abstract, flora and fauna motifs as described by Kartiwa. This argument is also based on the information gained from the texts as discussed earlier. The counter-argument will be explored in Chapter 5.

The *pacadaran* was the loom used by the *cadar* weavers and must have had a discontinuous warp²⁸ (ibid. 189). The types of gold woven textiles today known as *songket*, a term derived from the Malay word *menyongket* “to embroider with silver or gold threads”, strictly speaking it is not embroidery but a woven textile usually worked on a darkish red silk background which highlights the complexity of the gold patterning (Inpam Selvanayagam 1990:xv). These were traditionally made with the *cadar* type loom. It is possible gold cloths were in wide use in Java and Bali from the beginning of the 10th century as the *cadar* loom was in fairly common use. Within the coastal port towns in Java and south Sumatra where areas of court culture existed, there was a group of fully professional merchants selling textiles and ready-made garments known as *abasana*, or vendors of clothing (Wisseman Christie 1991b:14). It is, however, hard to know what textile patterns were being created at this time, but it is evident from this terminology that gold woven cloth was being made in Java at the time from at least the 10th century. It could be argued, however, that it is highly likely

²⁷ This means that a few threads of the warp are lifted during weaving and the supplementary weft threads are inserted to form a pattern.

²⁸ This needed to allow a comb or reed to separate the fine cotton or silk warp threads, thus allowing the threads to ride on the surface, i.e. supplementary to the weft, and act as a way to create a pattern element. This type of weaving is associated with the weaving of plaids, *limar*, weft ikat in silk, and *songket*, silk with gold supplementary threads in the weft, still in existence in south Sumatra and Bali today (both areas influenced by Javanese Material culture) Gittinger, M. 1979. *Splendid Symbols, Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia*. Washington DC: The Textile Museum.

a number of the textiles represented on the late 13th century sculptures depicted this type of rich gold brocade textile locally made.

1.5 Previous Research

The criteria for the publications selected are, first, pictorial evidence of textiles which reflect the patterns on the sculptures, second, evidence of silk and cotton textiles being traded to Java and Sumatra, and third, evidence of gold thread as part of the international network of trade and barter. We would like to have focussed on main lines of development in the study of textiles on sculptures, but as there has been little or no literature on this subject we have chosen these publications and articles which reference Java and Sumatra directly. The books reviewed will not be presented in any special order, as there does not appear to any development of ideas from the earliest date to the present day.

Indonesian Ornamental Design written in 1949 by Van Der Hoop was a commissioned work the Department of Education, Arts and Sciences (Van Der Hoop 1949) to produce an illustrated volume of Indonesian ornamental design. This large volume in both English, Dutch and Bahasa Indonesia covers designs and motifs from textiles, stone, wood, basket, metal and numerous other medium. Page 57 describes 'cloud or meander borders' with reference to Hindu art where this pattern is used to indicate the age of a garment on a sculpture, on page 66 he refers to the geometric ornament and the *banji* or swastika pattern, a motif we see depicted in border patterns on Cat.48 and 61. The ever-present *kawung* pattern is discussed on page 78 as having derived from the cross-section of the aren or sugar palm fruit, appears in many variations of batik textiles, However on page 80 he discusses the Majapahit sculpture of Cat.63 and described the *kawung* pattern in a more complex form, with the star-shaped spaces between the circles filled with "a sort of rosette". Page 82 shows the *jilamprang* pattern, a series of circles which do not overlap, the circles filled with rosettes, he describes this pattern as in evidence on some of the Hindu-Javanese statues. He suggests that the stone images do not indicate whether a weave or batiked pattern is imitated. The patterns described on page 88 are referred to as "wall-paper patterns" reflecting the carved wall paper at Candi Prambanan. The weave is described as *songket*, woven with gold thread, we suggest it is quite possible that this pattern bears a direct relationship to Cat.46. Moving forward to page 236, embroidery work from Palembang in Sumatra is described as a mixture of Chinese, Javanese and Siamese influences, these kind of patterning is visible on the sash of Cat.54 from

Sumatra. The recalcitrant spiral is described on page 272, found carved on the external walls of Caṇḍi Kalasan in central Java, however it is also very visible in the horizontal bands across jacket of Cat.48 and in some of the roundels in Cat.44. For the student of Indonesian ornamental design, this book remains an essential guide in seeing how various motifs can be seen across different medium.

The translated and annotated version of Zhao Rugua and his work the *Zhufanzhi* by F. Hirth and W.W. Rockhill (Hirth and Rockhill 1965), is without doubt the most important document which emphasises any kind of information on the trade of goods into and out of Java. In the Introduction, Hirth and Rockhill state Zhao Rugua's "work must be regarded as a most valuable source of information on the ethnology of the nations and tribes known through the sea-trade carried on by Chinese and Mohammedan traders in the Far East about the period at which it was written" (Hirth and Rockhill 1965:39). This work has been referred to many times in this thesis with reference to the Sung and early Yüan trade in and out of China to Java. In the 12th and 13th centuries Java was known as Shō-p'ō, the period in which this report was published. The people of Shō-p'ō were described as follows: "they pay attention to the raising of silk worms and weaving of silk; they have various coloured brocaded silks, cotton and damasked cotton, gauzes" (Hirth and Rockhill:78). This information remains essential in indicating how important the Javanese market was to Chinese merchants.

In 1960 W.P. Groeneveldt compiled a book *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya, Compiled from Chinese Sources* (Groeneveldt 1960). Groeneveldt worked through the Dynastic Histories of the Chinese amounting to nine hundred volumes, containing the history of every dynasty which reigned in China. The text makes it quite clear that the description of the products should not be taken too literally as the Chinese did not ascertain whether the tribute goods were actually from Java or just traded through Java as an entrepôt. However as there is a mention of silkworms being bred the notion the Javanese were capable of both rearing and weaving silk (ibid. 19), is entirely possible and an important aspect to this thesis

Between the years 1991 and 1999, Jan Wisseman Christie published a number of journal chapters on textiles in early Java and Bali, the Asian Sea Trade and *sīma* tax-transfer documents. Christie does not make any specific references to the central and east Javanese sculptures, but she does write in considerable detail of the types of patterns and designs

created over the subsequent centuries, and defines two classes of designs for the bronzes from the 9th to 10th centuries. For example, “one appears to represent plain coloured cloth decorated with a scattering of small six or eight petaled flowers”, a pattern similar to Cat.9 in this thesis. She suggests that patterns in some cases are reduced to a series of small dots in a circle “the pattern appears to be Indian in origin” (Wisseman Christie 1991b:17). The second major class of design “combines a range of floral motifs arranged in bands of varying widths, separated by what looks like warp stripes of contrasting colour” (Wisseman Christie:17). Christie describes the patterns on the later 13th to 14th centuries stone sculptures as “far more dense, elaborate and finely drawn, but appear to have lost the distinct linear symmetry of the earlier patterns”, “the later patterns appear clearly axial closer to the effects of block-printing” (ibid. 17). More importantly, Christie remains the only scholar who discusses any possible use of colour in the textiles at the time and discredits the generally held perception that Indian aesthetics were not necessarily the medium of influence for the textiles portrayed on the statues of east Java, but reflect a “Javanese interpretation of valued Indian designs” (ibid. 18).

In 1979 Ruth Barnes published the complete set of textile fragments from The Newberry Collection in the AM, Oxford, accompanied by her book on the subject titled *Indian Block-printed Textiles in Egypt* (Barnes 1997b). This was a ground-breaking book on the vast collection of Indian block-printed and mordant-dyed cotton fragments found in Fustat old Cairo. In Vol 1, Chapter II Barnes turns her attention to the Textile Trade from India to Southeast Asia. Her approach and analysis is of the trade in Indian textiles. The origins of batik are discussed as she refers to the past writings of the Dutch scholar Bühler in 1972. Barnes writes “it cannot be stated definitely whether batik developed independently, or whether it was in response to an Indian prototype” (Barnes:111).

She continues the debate by bringing in the work of Wisseman Christie, using the possible evidence of a Javanese whose profession “may have involved the preparation of batik cloth” (Barnes 1997b). Christie refers to this cloth as *bananten* or *walanten*, a term used for the method of treating already processed woven cloth, which “required both access to water and the use of a heavy mallet. This cloth was of importance in ceremonial display” (Wisseman Christie 1991b:15). The treatment of a pre-woven cloth beaten with a heavy

instrument to make the cloth smooth, is often used in the process for batik even today.²⁹ The ancient term for this textile was *tulis warna*, described by Christie as meaning coloured drawings, this term was known in the 12th century. Hence there appears a good chance that *tulis warna* was the ancestral technique to modern day batik (Wisseman Christie:16). Barnes reflects on this discussion by stating that whatever techniques were developed by the Javanese when Indian cotton textiles arrived in Java, they were acquired by a people who already had a well-developed and sophisticated knowledge of textile production (Barnes 1997b).

Barnes takes up two pages to make a critical summary of the work by Christie, which she incorporated it into her own discussion of the trade of Indian cottons to Southeast Asia. As a result we will attempt to synthesise these details into a few sentences. It is impossible to discuss Southeast Asian textiles without any references to Indian cloth. The 10th to 11th centuries saw a boom in the Asian trade, when Indian and Chinese textiles must have been available (this we have discussed already). The designs and pattern layout on Javanese sculpture appears to have changed from the early 10th to the 13th centuries. The small sculptures of the earlier period showed patterns of ‘six or eight petaled flowers’, which might suggest an imported Indian cotton textile. Yet, by the 13th century the designs on the



Fig. 1.5 Indian Trade cotton textile fragment. Newberry Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 13th to 14th century, C.14 tested. Inv no. 1990.1099

sculptures formed a “continuous pattern with a strong axial symmetry similar to block-printed

²⁹ Information gathered from personal observation during field work in central and north coast batik production centres, 2012-2014

textiles”(Barnes:114, Wisseman Christie 1991b:18). There are any number of textile samples in Barnes book, which are similar in pattern layout to the central Javanese bronze and stone sculptures. (These are in Appendix 2. Plate 13 and 14).

We would like to further highlight literature on the textile pattern on Cat.38, it appears there is very little idea of what this textile really represented. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that of all the sculptures in Java, it is always this one which is used as an example of a carved textile pattern.³⁰ Barnes describes this pattern as a *kawung*, but claims ‘that this pattern of continuous linked circles only developed at this time. In Asian and European art it goes back as far as Minoan and prehistoric Japanese designs’ (Barnes:114). John Guy, on the other hand, described the cloth on Gaṇeśa as follows: “it is highly probably that Gaṇeśa is wearing a prestigious imported cloth (Fig. 1.5). This design became an important pattern in later Javanese batik repertoire where it was known as *kawung*” (Guy 1998). Guy references this textile from the Newberry collection as a possible example of the pattern of his *kain*. Another such example given by Marie Louise Totton, who suggests a comparison to the couching of gold and silver threads onto Lampung textiles of south Sumatra, and she illustrates a picture of the Boro Gaṇeśa as a possible example. She has suggested the fabric and patterns represents a “thickly patterned cloth” therefore it is just possible this textile represented a thickly brocaded cloth possibly woven with metallic threads. She argues from the earliest records that, aristocrats in Southeast Asia claimed the privilege of owning and wearing gold cloth (Totton 2009:33). She continues that the visual evidence is not enough in itself to claim this representation on the statue is of a metallic woven cloth. But we can confirm the importance of prestige textiles to the early Javanese who valued gold and silver, this information is known from inscriptions and texts (Totton:33, Fig. 2-8).

In 2000 Gillian Green published *Indic Impetus? Innovations in Textile Usage in Angkorian Period Cambodia* (Green 2000). A critical survey of Khmer period relief sculpture and architecture and their textile patterns, these are compared with Khmer and Indian textile examples. The focus on the patterns is of abutting and intersecting circles, these she compares to cotton samples from Fustat. Once again, she describes “a roundel pattern is also

³⁰ We suggest this is because the pattern on the rear of the Gaṇeśa is very clear, and that one scholar just follows another.

clearly depicted on a hip wrapper on a 13th century Javanese stone Gaṇeśa image” (Green:298). After referencing John Guy (previous notes), she states this textile could well be of Javanese and not of Indian origin.

In 1979, the Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles was held in the Textile Museum, Washington, D.C. Four important papers came out of this conference, by Woodward (Woodward 1979), Veldhuisen-Djajasebrata (Veldhuisen-Djajasebrata 1979), Hardjonagoro (Hardjonagoro 1979) and Fischer (Fischer 1979). These four papers have proved to deliver compelling evidence of the existence of locally made textiles especially in east Java, during the Hindu Buddhist period though with Indian influences. The most consistent argument is around the existence of textiles with geometric patterns. Woodward deals with three important paradigms. We will only look at the second paradigm, where he describes “local textile patterns must indeed be understood in relationship to international developments. There is the centre field filled with repeating geometric devices” (Woodward 1979:17). He also states that geometric fields tend to have a more universal character, and as for textiles ordered geometrically in the centre fields, it is not possible to trace their development, but “to point to isolated pieces of evidence”. Later in the chapter he writes “the evidence for the development of textile patterns through the 14th century remains necessarily slim, and consists primarily of the garments worn by deities in a few stone sculptures”. Woodward attributes the trading entrepreneurs as being of Central Asian origin for the development of blue and white porcelain during the early Yüan period in the southern Chinese coastal cities. These wares were primarily for export to Southeast Asia.³¹ (Woodward:20-21). Woodward’s analysis of the geometric patterns was in relationship to an international context, but with a special local significance.

Veldhuisen-Djajasebrata’s chapter relates to the important subject of the *larangan* or forbidden patterns. However she mainly focusses on the synthesis of patterns which make up the *ceplok*³² pattern group, and explains the meaning of all the different designs, which

³¹ See Chapter 1 for examples

³² One category of batik pattern groups is known as *ceplokkan*, described in this thesis as *ceplok*. This group consists of a series of geometric patterns which consist of interlocking squares, diamonds and circles. The patterns are inspired by nature, loosely based on plants, flowers etc. that have become extremely stylised, the patterns are often viewed as though a kaleidoscope. The circle is often based on a pattern split into four segments, but the circle can also include triangles, squares and octagons. Many of the patterns are viewed in cross-section, for example the mangosteen and various fruits and plants look as though they are cut in half. The

are part of the *larangan*, or forbidden patterns. From the Singhasāri period the stone sculptures have appeared to “be adorned with textiles that bear patterns similar to those on *patola* cloths” (Velduisen-Djajasoebrota 1979:206). Of course her opinion is most likely based on the Boro Gaṇeśa.

Hardjonagoro argues in his chapter for the origins of batik to be in the Islamic period, but he suggests its roots pre-date this, back to the pre-Hindu Buddhist animist traditions (Hardjonagoro 1979:224). The main principles of his analysis are the different terms for dress and textile patterns taken from Middle Javanese Literature. A survey of which “affords another avenue of investigation, through allusions to Javanese textiles and apparel” (Hardjonagoro:225). Hardjonagoro³³ refers to the *Kidung* Sudamala and the term ‘*sinjang patawala wilis*’ meaning green *patola* hip cloth. In the same text is the word *sabuk* or waistcloth and the word *geringsing*, which is cited as a form of trousers, a pattern with the “power to protect against evil”, these are referenced in the *Kidung* Rangga Lawe and *Serat Pararaton*.³⁴ Hardjonagoro writes that Ancient Javanese literature rarely describes everyday life, however if batik did exist in some form during the period of Middle Javanese Literature, it was probably not as prestigious as other textiles worn by the courtiers (ibid. 237, Note.11).

Fischer in an opening statement suggests, “knowledge of the Indonesian past is probably irretrievable, a need exists, for contemporary research – on systematic surveys of museum and private collections throughout the world”. Fischer concurs with most scholars writing a statement that “of all the foreign influences on Indonesian textiles, clearly the most

ceplak group contains some of Java’s oldest motifs such as the *kawung*. It is suggested that the roots of this pattern can be traced back to Java’s Hindu Buddhist period Warming, W. & M. Garwoski. 1981. *The World of Indonesian Textiles*. London: Serinda Publications. :170-171

A category of batik designs and patterns that are place symmetrically to each other forming neat rows that fill the entire surface of the cloth, it is also part of the *larangan* or forbidden pattern groups. These were used by members of the royal family only. By decrees of 1769, 1784 and 1790 the Sunan reserved for himself and his close relatives the use of certain patterns in the making of batik cloth. This appeared to be only in the courts of Surakarta and Jogjakarta in central Java Velduisen-Djajasoebrota, A. 1980. On the Origin and Nature of Larangan: Forbidden Batik Patterns from the Central Javanese Principalities. In *Indonesian Textiles, Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles 1979 Proceedings*, ed. M. Gittinger. Washington D.C.: The Textile Museum. :201

³³ He is esteemed as a many-sided expert in Javanese cultural studies. His views and opinions are significant because the source and conceptual framework are founded in Surakarta-Javanese tradition, little of which is not accessible to western-trained student. Hardjonagoro, K. R. T. Ibid. The Place of Batik in the History and Philosophy of Javanese Textiles A Person View. washington D.C, ibid. : 235, note 1.

³⁴ Further details of the *kidung* appear in Appendix 2. We would maintain that of the many pattern and garment terms mentioned in the literature, we cannot know what patterns were being interpreted onto the stone sculptures, but if these terms were used in literature they would certainly have been used in real life.

pervasive are those of the Hindu-Buddhist India. *Patola* silks as high status textiles pervaded all of the islands of Indonesia but none as much as Sumatra and Java". He concludes by saying that first, many cloths can be considered as historical sources, and second, textiles can be viewed as acculturation and exchange as they relate to a specific character of indigenous responses (Fischer 1979:339-342). We hope the results of this thesis will answer some of the questions and theories posed by these four chapters of the Textile Museum Conference.

The next section on textiles covers authors who write about Indonesian textiles, or specifically about certain kinds of textiles, such as *songket*. Grace Selvanayagam published *Songket, Malaysia's Woven Treasure* in 1990 (Inpam Selvanayagam 1990) and her approach was to analyse the *songket* by their patterns and design structure. The quality of the images and drawings are good, and a number of her examples have been attributed to the sculptures in Chapter 3. *Songket* is described as belonging to the brocade family of textiles, a cloth for ceremonial use. Another woven fabric is termed *kain limar*, believed to be an imitation of the Javanese *kain cinde/cindai*. Both these fabrics took their design and pattern layout from the *patola*. Selvanayagam concedes there is a problem in the dating of the origin of *songket*, but she speculates, that since the 13th and 14th centuries the long tradition of weaving in Peninsular Malaysia was stimulated by the trade between the west and the east (Inpam Selvanayagam 1990:xv-xviii). However Selvanayagam points to Palembang in south Sumatra as the origin of *songket* weaving in the Malay region, where it arrived into the Malay Peninsula through inter-marriage. It was known that royal women brought with them their looms and most likely their weavers (Inpam Selvanayagam:xviii). The material in this book is contextualised clearly, and in Chapter 4 she discusses the patterns found on the main body or structures of the *songket*. The most important inspiration for the motifs appear to be fruits or flowers, known as *bunga*. The *bunga* are set within chains or *rantai*, the *teluk* being the central area enclosed by the *rantai*. These central patterns are stylized to create a floral or geometric motif. The most popular of the large floral motifs are the base of the corolla of the persimmon fruit, the pattern known as *bunga tampuk kesemak* (ibid. 72). The next most popular pattern is the *bunga bintang*-the star pattern. There is an uncanny and almost exact same pattern visible on the textiles of Cat.46.

Despite the obvious lack of any textual evidence or existing *songket* textiles from the 13th century, the clear match between the Malay *songket* examples and some of the stone

textile patterns is without question. We would argue that there was certainly silk and cotton textiles traded through Java and onto China as tribute, but there was also silk and cotton fabrics being made in Java of a quality that was good enough to trade to China. There were also gold threads used to create richly patterned fabrics or brocades known in Sumatra, Java and the Malay Peninsular as *songket*. *Songket* is a type of cloth woven with supplementary weft of metallic or coloured threads, the kind of cloth suggested by Totton as seen on the Boro Gaṇeśa. We concur with Totton, that the fabric represented on Cat.38 is of a *songket* type of textile and not with the theory posed by Guy that the cloth was a valued Indian cotton.

A very specific form of *songket* is woven in the Minangkabau Highlands, where John and Anne Summerfield published *Walk in Splendour, Ceremonial Dress and the Minangkabau* in 1999 (Summerfield 1999). The Summerfields recorded that from the 14th century the weaving of *songket* was as a result of the early trade and foreign influences, which was followed by the arrival of prince Ādityavarman. He was a prince from the Majapahit who established his courts in both Jambi and then in Minangkabau. He brought in a Tantric form of Buddhism when he established himself as ruler, and started a royal court at Pagaruyung in the highlands (Summerfield 1999:31).³⁵

Bedřich Forman wrote *Indonesian Batik and Ikat* which was published in 1998 (Forman 1998). This small but concise publication is arguably the only Indonesian textile book to date which covers the historic background, the symbolic and religious significance of the patterns. Forman discusses at length the origins of batik, and the arrangement of the *ceplik* design group, with the *kawung* pattern as one of this group. He describes the Javanese as allotting the *kawung* pattern a place of honour, which could be out of respect for the symbol, even though the origins of this long lasting pattern have “fallen into oblivion over the centuries”

³⁵ In the mid-14th century a monumental statue of Bhairava was erected on the banks of the Batang Hari River. Schnitger, F. M. 1937. *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.:8. His textile pattern on his short loin cloth is the *candrakapāla* pattern, the large sash is carved with the *balah kacang* or split peanut motif. A brief explanation is needed based on my own analysis on how did the *balah kacang* pattern end up on the three attendants of Amoghapāśa E.13a-c. There is no doubt these patterns originated in Java where the three sculptures were made, when Ādityavarman moved to Java and set up his own court and eventually was immortalised in the Bhairava statue, he could easily have taken the idea of the *songket* design with him. The evidence is in the pattern of his sash which is clearly of a very similar pattern construction. See Appendix 1, Sumatra S.4 for details. The Minangkabau adopted the motif as their own and called it *balah kacang*. Summerfield, J. A. 1999. *Walk In Splendor: Ceremonial Dress and the Minangkabau*. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History. :174

(Forman 1998:72). Further references are present in Chapter 3 where he ascribes the *kawung* pattern to Sanatruk the Persian ruler of Hatra.

The last and newest textile publication is by Judy Achjadi, *Floating Threads, Indonesian Songket and Similar Weaving Traditions* (Achjadi 2015). A few points emerge in this large publication which covers the *songket* of Sumatra and the historical background of the gold thread itself. She alludes to the possibility of the gold thread which is used in the weaving of *songket* as being “spun into thread in southern Thailand, however the actual gold originated from Śrīvijaya” (Achjadi 2015:17). One fact we wish to pick up on regards the use of textiles in Indonesia. They are not just to clothe the body but an important component of ritual exchange, such as marriage alliances, to bind two families or clans together (Achjadi:23).

We would maintain these patterns reflect an existing textile which was part of a gift exchange from one family to another and from one island to another. This clearly indicates the obvious movement of cloth which is so easily transferable from place to place. Achjadi refers to some textiles as having ritual significance, not only the *songket* but to simple weaves as well, and this fact “reinforces the assumption that while metallic-thread *songket* may be of foreign origin, cotton float threads must a very old Indonesian craft” (ibid. 24). The origins of *songket* weaving are unknown but a comparison of the vocabulary of patterns clearly indicates the extent of the interaction of the Indonesian people with their neighbours in other lands (ibid. 26). The influences of Hinduism and Buddhism and lastly Islam, along with the international trade had a “strong effect on the development of Indonesia’s textile traditions” (ibid. 26). Despite the fact that Achjadi describes *songket* as the quintessential technique for decorating cloth in Sumatra, this technique has survived until today.

Given this information, we highlight that it is quite likely with the evidence presented in this literature review, and using certain sculptures as ‘hard’ evidence, that the technique of *songket* weaving in essence as we see it today, originated in Java during the 12th to 13th centuries. These patterns can clearly be seen on the jacket of Cat.46 to 50.

In the final two text, we will turn briefly to the scholarship on textiles from the Tibetan Empire and Amy Heller’s article *Recent Findings on Textiles from the Tibetan Empire* from

2006. Heller's critical analysis of the silk samite³⁶ at the Abegg Stiftung is thorough and reveals some interesting sources for the textile. Heller writes of:

“mural paintings of textiles in Tibetan monasteries constructed during the late 10th and early 11th centuries indicate the persistent popularity in Tibet of Sasanian roundel motifs enclosing both geometric and animal forms, long after their initial import during the Tibetan empire” (Heller 2006:175).

She describes the vast quantity of textiles sent as tribute missions to Tibet from China. It appears the Tibetans were aware of the Central Asian textiles with roundels which were represented on Buddhist statues. These textiles appear to have actually originated in Central Asian (Heller:178-179). In her analysis of a bronze Buddha from Kashmir in the Norton Simon Museum, Heller but picks up again the Sasanian designs of single animal roundels (ibid. 181).

In attempting to source the inspiration behind the animal roundel patterns on the two Singosari sculptures Cat.44 and Cat.45 we again turn to Heller's chapter. It is apparent that the roundel with single or confronting animals came from Persia to China. As textiles were moved about, being traded from one place to another, there are many potential sources. She has clearly stated that Kashmir had no tradition of producing complex woven fabrics (ibid. 183-187). In her summary she states, “this textile evokes the complex international relations that influenced aesthetic models as well as trade and political structures during the Tibetan Empire” – “the pervasive influence of the Sasanian designs throughout the Asian continent, long after the decline of the Sasanian Empire”(ibid. 188). As a result of Heller's analysis, we propose that the patterns on the Cat.44 and 45 are probably of some kind of Sasanian inspiration. Klimburg Slater describes a garment on a Buddha at Poo, Himachal Pradesh, as wearing a lightweight fabric patterned with rondels with animal motifs, each one with a different animal, these paintings dating to the 11th century (Klimburg-Salter June 1994:159). This highlights the continuity of these all pervasive roundel patterns from the earliest source in the 6th century to the evidence of the roundels in the 13th century Java.

In addition we will also turn briefly to Bivar's work in 2006 *Sasanian Iconography on Textiles and Seals* (Bivar 2006). Bivar discusses the issues of whether the Sasanian roundel patterns are indeed of Iranian manufacture, or perhaps some existing patterns are of later

³⁶ A medieval term, the cloth is a weft-faced compound twill type of weave often including gold and silver threads. (Harris 2010):314 Glossary.

Chinese manufacture (Bivar 2006:17). He sums up the differences by saying the Sasanian period was characterized by straight forward and simple subjects showing animals in pearl roundels. Sasanian themes can be interpreted by Chinese weavers, where the pearl in the roundel disappears. By the Islamic period the patterns became more complicated with an increased richness in the decoration. Yet Bivar states “Sasanian examples established a fashion that out-lived the dynasty by more than three hundred years” (Bivar:21).

This extensive review of some selected literature and any reference to textiles either in Java, Sumatra or indeed further west, highlight that the textiles patterns on the sculptures in Java and indeed the few sculptures in Sumatra, are either from western India, reflected in the *patola*, central Asian or Sasanian, with animal roundels, or an indigenous textile made in Java representing a brocade or *songket* in its many variations. Alternatively the patterns could be *kawung/geringsing*, therefore again of local inspiration. Ignorance of textile terms appear to be the biggest stumbling block, with scholars making references to patterns where one scholar simply follows another. Most of the commentary refers to batik, with a nod to *patola* and its key pattern known as *jilamprang* in Indonesia.

In 2016 the MNI and the RMV collaborated to launch the website www.singosari.info. This website covers the two key museums which hold Singosari statues, adding another dimension to the study of these little-known temple sites and sculptures. One example, the pattern on Cat. 53 is described as “*jilamprang* in modern Indonesia and is a traditional batik pattern”.

Lastly we would like to highlight the work of Craig Clunas who published *Chinese Furniture* (Clunas 1998), the Introduction to which he makes a statement which we can relate to the study of Javanese ‘art’ in the form of sculptures and textile patterns. Clunas suggests we have to tread carefully between contrasting and comparing of “actual pieces” (Clunas 1998:7). This tends to be an issue here, as all too often one scholar appears to only reference the work of another, and does not investigate the sculptures directly for themselves, therefore they are contrasting and comparing and not necessarily making a new analysis. The second point we would like to highlight is this comment: “understanding an artefact is to understand a society which produced it” (ibid. 7).

This is an issue in the scholarship of Javanese art, as generally any scholar who writes of the sculptures especially in east Java, does not appear to make any attempt to understand

the history and society in which the sculptures were created, therefore cannot in truth understand the sculptures themselves. These fourteen reviews would appear to highlight the importance of the trade of textiles into the region and the continuation of patterns long after their original construction. It also presents some difficulties in the possible dating and the exact origin of certain textile techniques, such as *songket*, *patola*, *batik* and *geringsing*. We hope therefore that the work of this thesis will bring these two concepts together the artefact, i.e. the sculptures with the society, for example, Kṛtanāgara and the Singhasāri period, and the analysis of the patterns depicted on the sculptures, using all the source material available to us, such as the stone and bronze statues themselves.

The present day scholarship appears to have left the sculptures of central and east Java out of the forefront of current research. In our opinion there appears to be some instances where certain descriptions of dress details and textile pattern are inaccurate, which has left the field of Javanese art with often inappropriate terminology.

1.6 Outline of Thesis

Chapter 1 will introduce the general aims of the thesis, giving background material on the stone sculptures and cast bronze and gold images. It will highlight the textile types represented on these sculptures and focus on the value and the materials of the textiles which can contribute to our understanding of the history of the period. However where possible or indeed relevant, to place the sculptures in a historical context.

A review of the literature on research on textile patterns. Javanese literature specifically *Kakawin* and *Kidung* poems and *sīma*-texts will be analysed with specific reference to any referral to textile pattern terms and types of cloth, which reveal the types of textiles and patterns that were used by the kings at the time. The key pattern terms are taken from the *kidung* and *sīma* texts, and are the following, *patola*, *geringsing*, *ceplok/kawung* and *prada*. These terms have been selected as they appear to be the only known patterns in evidence on the 13th to 14th century's sculptures, which makes them historically immutable. Further details of Chinese and Bahasa Indonesia texts as the source for these pattern terms are given in the Glossary.

The key material of this thesis will be presented in Chapters 2 to 4, where a description of each sculpture will be grouped according to their textile pattern type. Extended details on

each sculpture is referenced in Volume 2, Appendix 1, where the sculptures in Chapter 2 will be labelled either central Java or early east Java style and in Chapter 4 they will be called Majapahit style.

Chapter 3 represents the core argument of this thesis which covers the sculptures of the Kaḍiri and Singhasāri period, and poses that this period of Javanese art contains some sculptures with textile patterns not previously seen or published. Because of the many different styles, we have developed three different sculpture styles. Each statue will be labelled in Appendix 1 as either in the 'Kaḍiri', 'Singosari' or 'Transition' style, however this labelling does not impact the textile patterns which will be grouped separately, partly by dating and partly by textile type. Details of all the textile patterns will be given in the form of a typology highlighting the evolution of Javanese textile production and acculturation from the 8th to the 14th centuries. This will be clearly evident in Appendix 2.

Finally in Chapter 5, we will conclude by focusing on the textiles to highlight what this research has contributed to the transmission of patterns from the source textiles to sculptures. The dating of images using the textiles as a means of period classification, indeed highlights the cross-fertilisation of cultures during this period of history in the Southeast Asian region. The empirical approach adopted, illustrates how some of the patterns have continued to be used in current textile production. We will also argue that the loss of so many of the textile patterns on stone, due to adverse climatic and environmental conditions, would mean a loss of a whole genre of ancient Javanese and Malay textiles, which this thesis will preserve by way of the associated drawings.

To sum up, the primary objective, is to argue for the importance of the period during the reign of Kṛtanāgara, and the many varied textile patterns. Evidence gathered from the body of sculptures from central and early east Java in bronze and stone, help to create a record of a "pattern book and typology" of textiles from that period. Due to the limited number of inscriptions and texts from this period, this research utilized visual analysis methods to examine the sculptures. These methods are supported by images of the sculptures taken by the author with the addition of original line drawings of the textiles commissioned by the author. The drawings of the textile patterns which accompany each sculpture is an interpretation by the author and the artist to be as true a likeness as possible.

However the most significant contribution of this thesis is to illustrate the preservation of the patterns by way of line drawings ascribed to each sculpture. A number of the stone sculptures remain outside *in situ* at their caṇḍi of origin, where the patterns have mostly disappeared due to the vagaries of the tropical weather, or they are hidden in museum vaults. Some sculptures which were known in the 20th century appeared to have disappeared and are now only known from publications or texts (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1955, Reichle 2007, Blom 1939).

As new material is presented in the forthcoming chapters where Javanese indigenous designs appear to have merged with the newly imported decorative textiles, the rich and complex art history of Java is being modified and re-written. A deeper knowledge of external influences appear to be the only possible source to understanding the provenance of the patterns on a number of the Singāsari sculptures. Function and production techniques are also important, along with indigenous sources of textiles gained from *kidung* and *kakawin* poetry and *sīma* charters. The answers to these questions will aid in identifying the textile patterns of this period in Classical Javanese history.

2 Central and Early Javanese, 8th to 11th centuries

The statues in this chapter, which originate from the central Javanese period range from the late 8th to the 9th centuries, with a few statues dating from the early east Javanese period in the mid-11th century. We will look at a variety of material ranging in size from a bronze statuette at 7.5cm to a stone statue at 3m. These statues were all chosen as examples for their diversity of patterns.³⁷ Each sculpture will be accompanied by a drawing of the lower half of the torso or a detail drawing of the entire pattern, which highlights the details of the textile patterns.

We have allocated a designated term 'Central or early East Java Style',³⁸ which we would describe as relating to the style of sculptures made in Java but still showing some similarities to an Indian style of dress. The Indian style is especially evident from eastern and southern India in the early years of the Chola, mid 9th to 13th centuries (Huntington and Huntington 1993:509) and of the Pāla dynasties of eastern India. The few sculptures which appear to fit more closely with this Indianized style of dress are Catalogue numbers, 5,22,21,13,and 28 (male figure), and 19, which is apparent in the style of the garments not in the textile patterns themselves. This rather more Indianized style of dress is apparent on the figures listed above and clearly shows the statues wearing a *dhoti*, a South Indian style of garment, which is worn short and pulled up between the legs and tucked in at the rear of the body. Another obvious Indian detail of dress is the use of the multiple small metal belts, chains and sashes. In Java the chains around the hips we will describe as belts, the broad band or demarcation across the upper body, is known as *seléndang*. These features are depicted in a somewhat different manner in India, but there are obvious similarities between Indian and Javanese in the depiction of these items of apparel. In some instances, the styling of the *kain* moves closer to the Singhasāri period where the outline of the limbs are not visible beneath the cloth.

³⁷ There are more sculptures which are depicted with textile patterns but due to restrictions of space, only this number have been included as a good cross reference of patterns depicted at the time.

³⁸ Full details of dates, location and place of origin if known and relevant publications, are given in Appendix 1

We have chosen to divide the textile patterns into four groups based on their pattern type. Group 1 is made up of four sub-groups, which will cover statues which depict small overall textile patterns in a repeat of flowers, circles and dots. Barnes has stated that the symmetry created by Indian block printed cottons, by its very nature will mean the design has a repeat (Barnes 1997b:74), therefore we have suggested that some of this group could be dressed in a textile replicating a block printed pattern. Barnes wrote that since 1411 there has been a trade of block printed cottons from Gujarat (Barnes:78). For example the textiles in Group 1 signify a “block-printed identical motifs to create a large field” (Barnes:63). However, we have suggested that the patterns on these sculptures are clear evidence that block printed designs were known much earlier than has been suggested by Barnes. Group 2 is made up of three sub-groups and includes textile patterns which depict a series of flowers in horizontal and in some cases vertical bands across the *kain*. The layout of the pattern within the bands shows a variety of small four petal and leaf shape flowers, circles and symmetrical designs. From the design, some of these patterns appear to imitate Indian patterns. Group 3, consists of one sculpture only, which consists of a complex pattern which stands alone and one of a kind. Last in Group 4, we include two seated ancestor figures, both wearing a long slaved jacket and *kain*, with a similar but not the identical pattern, one originates from Java and one from Sumatra.

Visual evidence from Indian block printed textiles as depicted in Jain manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries, such as the Kalpasutra in the Prince of Wales Museum,³⁹ and the Kalacarya Katha in the British Library, highlights a clear similarity to many of these patterns. The manuscripts represent a cross-section of possible textile patterns which, according to Chandra (Chandra 1973:177-180) were in existence long before the 14th century. The details on dress and textile patterns given in Chandra’s publication are a first-rate source for the types of dress styles and patterns depicted in Western Indian miniature paintings, on palm-leaf and on paper. These date roughly from 1100 to 1350 and from 1350 to 1450. According to Chandra there does not appear to be any difference in the designs between these two periods. We would also suggest that from the visual evidence on the patterns on central Javanese sculptures themselves, there appears to be no difference. Consequently, we will use

³⁹ Today known as CSMVS- Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya

references to Chandra's publication to aid in establishing the source of the patterns on the dress of the central Javanese statuettes. The small drawings taken from Chandra's book can be seen in Appendix 2, Plate 8-10. Textile samples which originate from the Newberry Collection at the Ashmolean Museum are in Appendix 3, Plates 11-12. These remnants of cotton are published by Ruth Barnes (Barnes 1997b). Many of the patterns on the sculptures in this chapter are reflected in these textile patterns.

Jan Fontein has suggested that the Indian influence was felt in Java from throughout different parts of the Sub-continent over different periods of time, and from many different media. This two way exchange can only have added to the multiplicity of sources that makes up the Indo- Javanese art created in this period (Fontein et al. 1971:33). Fontein also refers to the talents of the sculptors of the central Javanese era and suggests some parallels:

“That Indonesian sculpture, in spite of many obvious parallels with Indian prototypes, almost always has a distinct flavour of its own, should not be attributed solely to the transforming influence of the Javanese ‘local genius’” (Fontein et al. 1971:33).

We would like to highlight the expression ‘local genius’, as suggested by Fontein. It appeared so many of the Javanese bronzes were decorated with textile patterns, compared to very few Indian bronzes, therefore we would suggest this was the interpretation of the local genius as described by Fontein. Huntington questions the often used word ‘influence’ in the transmission of art styles (Huntington 1994:58), and admittedly it is tempting to suggest that the creation of the textile patterns on these sculptures were ‘influenced’ by another source as a result of inter-regional trade.

The changes which developed in art, either stylistically or depicted in the iconography were in small steps, and this is certainly noticeable with the small and medium size bronze figures (Lerner and Kossak 1991:17). The shift to east Java produced a series of small bronzes pointing to a more east Javanese evolution, with statuettes stylistically close to the Nganjuk style. A style of elongated bodies and blobby or spiky ornamentation (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:31-32). We suggest that this adoption and the eventual adaption of this Indian style which carried over into the textile patterns is clearly evident from the sculptures themselves.

We aim to make a classification of these statues, which is normally completed by material, iconographical forms, or ritual or domestic use, therefore in the absence of any data on artists, patrons, time or place of manufacture or indeed the find spot (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1988:23), the only realistic grouping we are going to make in this thesis is by textile pattern types.

2.1 Group 1- Overall Repeated Textile Patterns

2.1.1 Small Daisy or Rosette flower – Catalogue 1-12

The simple continuous star motif on a silver figure Cat1, is apparent on only one statue in this group of statues originating from Sambas. It is carved with a pattern which appears



Fig. 2.1 Cat. 1, Avalokitesvara, BM, London



Fig. 2.2 Drawing of the textile pattern

fairly often in India. The *seléndang* appears simply scratched with a pattern which replicates that on the *kain*, which could also be termed as randomly carved star motifs. (Fig. 2.1). The carving of this image, especially the details of the belts and the sash is very similar to the

Avalokitésvara published by Fontein, however the pattern on the *kain* differs considerably (Fontein 1990:193, fig.45).

Cat.2 in copper (Fig. 2.3) appears with the *kain* falling to the ankles, carved with the tiger skin of Śiva draped around the hips, the head appears simply on the right hip. The small-



Fig. 2.3 Cat.2 Śiva, TMA, Amsterdam



Fig. 2.4 Drawing of the textile pattern, depicting the tiger skin across the hips.

scale continuous pattern depicts tiny dots in a circle,⁴⁰ finished with a plain border. At the waist is a belt fastened with a clasp at the front of the body (Fig. 2.4). The patterning which is indicative of *bandhani*, Indian tie dyed textiles (Barnes 1997a:152) is also replicated on the Indo-Egyptian cottons of the Newberry Collection, and appears in Chandra's book.⁴¹ See Appendix 2, Plate 8-10 and Appendix 3, Plate 11-12

⁴⁰ The exact same pattern is seen on Pg. 53, Fig 17, Pg. 66, and Fig 31 Described as a 'floral pattern'. (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. 1984b. *Indo-Javanese Metalwork*. Stuttgart: Linden-Museum. The three examples presented here would indicate this was a very popular decorating technique and a popular textile pattern.

⁴¹ This particular textile pattern is also displayed on the Avalokitesvara in the Eilenberg Collection. (Lerner, M. & S. Kossak. 1991. *The Lotus Transcendent, Indian and Southeast Asian Art from the Smauel Eilenberg Collection*. New York: Harry N, Abrams, Inc.:180, Fig 140.

The bronze figure Cat. 3 bears a strong resemblance to the Vajrapani in the Samuel Eilenberg Collection (Lerner and Kossak 1991:174, fig 135). (Fig. 2.5). The *seléndang* depicts



Fig. 2.5 Cat. 3, Padmapāni MP, Jakarta

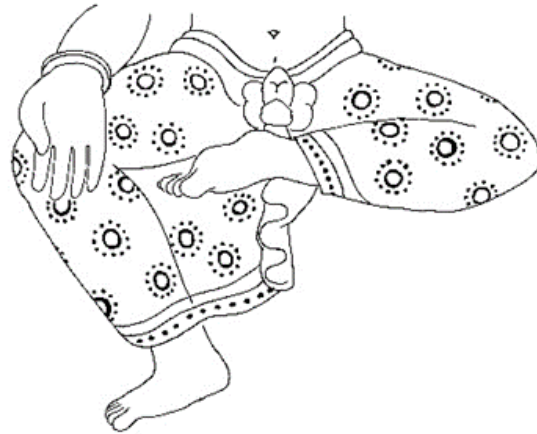


Fig. 2.6 Drawing of the textile pattern

a horizontal pattern,⁴² the *kain* folded in a simple pleat at the centre, falling the length of the body and carved with a repeat pattern of circles surrounded by dots, the narrow border consists of a series of small dots, also a possible replica of a *bandhani* pattern.

The bronze seated statue C. 4 (Fig. 2.8) is carved with a pattern on the *kain* depicting a small eight petal daisy flower, the border clearly marked with a line of inverted triangles (Fig. 2.7), possibly reflecting the motif in Java referred to as *tumpal*.

⁴² The Vajrapani is also depicted with a wide sash across the body which has been described as the *upavīta* in the form of a wide sash. Ibid. Pg. 174, Fig 135. A 'scarf-like' *upavīta* is also described by Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, an expression she uses in a number of the statues, one for example. (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984):52 No. 16.

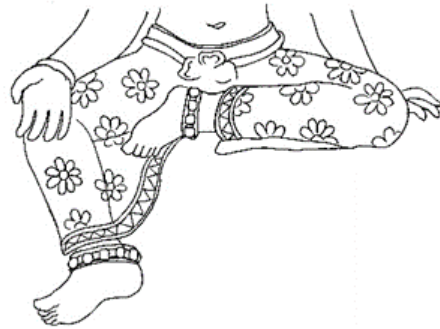
In discussion with Christian Luczanits we have decided that here in Java the wide sash is not the *upavīta* but will be called *seléndang* or sash. SOAS June 2016.



Fig. 2.8 Cat. 4 Mañjuśrī, All, Jakarta



Fig. 2.7 Detail of the lower leg, below, drawing of the textile pattern



The tiger skin on Cat. 5 lays above the long *kain* with multiple folds, this perhaps would indicate the finesse of the fabric as the form of the legs is clearly visible (Fig. 2.9). The sashes have a simple leaf pattern made up of six small oval shapes, the sashes are then tied in an extremely large bow which fan out at the side of the body, a feature which continues into the east Javanese style. The ends fall the length of the body clearly defined as two pieces of folded cloth. The photograph is taken from a small exhibition at the Prambanan site museum, and depicts Śiva with a decorated *kain*,⁴³(Fig. 2.9) close analysis of the pattern on (Fig. 2.10) might suggest the sculpture does have a textile pattern of a large four petal flower in the shape of a star.

⁴³ Photograph taken in May 2016.



Fig. 2.10 Cat.5 Photograph from Leiden University Library. OD-11854



Fig. 2.9 Drawing replicated from the PM, Jogjakarta. Right, Lower body after Bernet Kempers.



The silver statue Cat.6 stands on a small bronze double lotus pedestal. (Fig. 2.12).The *kain* falls the length of the body carved with a simple four petal flower in a large continuous pattern,⁴⁴ held with a fabric belt.

⁴⁴ Very similar pattern to this Viṣṇu. (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. 1984b. *Indo-Javanese Metalwork*. Stuttgart: Linden-Museum.:68, Fig. 28. The pattern is very faint so realistically we were not able to reconstruct a drawing of the pattern.



Fig. 2.12 Cat.6. Standing Śiva, PM Museum, Jakarta, Detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern

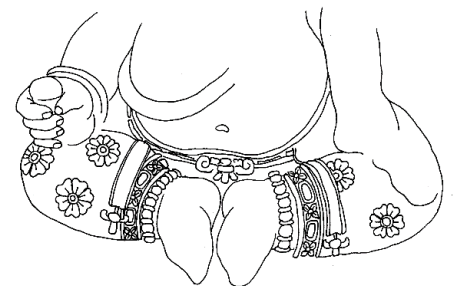


Fig. 2.11 Cat. 7 Gaṇeśa, PM, Jogjakarta, Detail of lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern

The stone figure of Cat.7 has a textile pattern consisting of four or eight petal rosettes with rounded petals which appear in a continuous design across the body, the trouser is depicted with a detailed border pattern shown around the ankles (Fig. 2.11). This sculpture

and Cat. 10, both wear a loose trouser rather than a *kain*, and the patterning on the cloth is indicative of Indian block printed and mordant-dyed cotton similar to those from the Newberry collection at the AM, examples in Appendix 3, Plate 11-12. The textile pattern on Cat. 10 is made up of a four petal flower interspersed with a pointed four leaf shape.

The large stone figure of Agastya, Cat.8 remains *in situ* at Caṇḍi Ijo (Fig. 2.13), a small



Fig. 2.13 Cat. 8 Agastya, Caṇḍi Ijo. Detail of the lower leg and drawing of the textile pattern

ruined candi near the larger Caṇḍi Gupola (Fisher 1993). The attributes of the seer Agastya are clearly identifiable, by his beard, stout belly and moustache and the trident on the backslab. He wears simple jewellery, the *seléndang* clearly depicted folded across the body, the sash folded at the front, atypical central Javanese feature. His *kain* falls to the ankles represented with a wavy line and a small border, the pattern of large rosettes is carved as a repeated pattern across the fabric.

The stone Gaṇeśa figure Cat. 9 is in near perfect condition, seated on a double lotus base with his feet not quite touching in *sitasanamudrā* (Fig. 2.15), a typical central Javanese posture. His *kain* appears in two parts, falls the length of the body, with a pattern depicting a simple stylised lotus motif with eight pointed petals around a central circle.

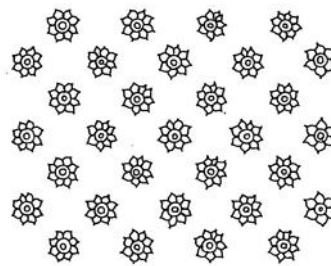
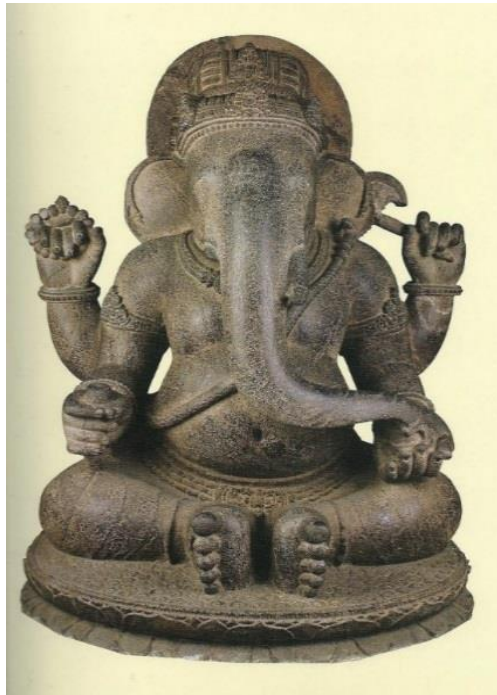


Fig. 2.15 Cat.9 Gaṇeśa MNI, Jakarta, detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern.

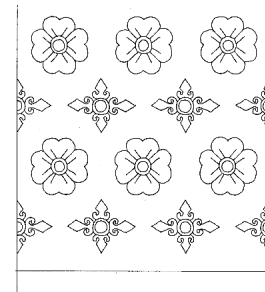


Fig. 2.14 Cat. 10 Gaṇeśa, SM, Prambanan, Detail of the lower leg and drawing of the textile pattern

The stone Gaṇeśa in Cat. 10 is depicted with the *kain* perhaps worn as trousers to the ankles, overlaid is a large sash or *sempur*, tied in a loose bow at the side of the body the two long ends of the sash falls onto the lotus cushion (Fig. 2.14). The pattern is made up of two motifs, a rosette flower with four petals demarked as eight, interspaced with a star shaped pattern made up of four leaf shapes. The sash is not a typical central Javanese feature so we could place this Gaṇeśa nearer to the 10 to 11th century, however his textile pattern and the remainder of his iconography place him in central Java.

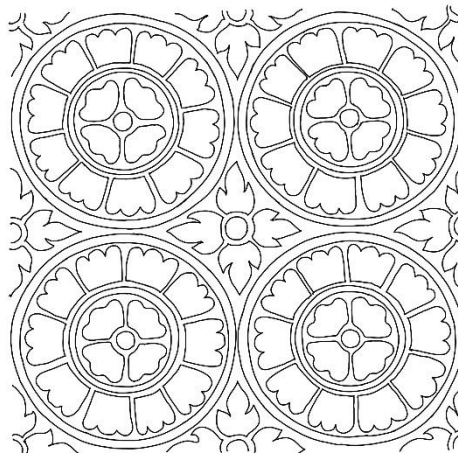
The stone Gaṇeśa in Cat. 11 is smaller than the previous sculpture. (Fig. 2.17). The patterned *kain* clearly visible beneath the sash (Fig. 2.16), it falls the length of the body indicated by an undulating line. The pattern carved in deep relief with concentric roundels with a stylised lotus motif depicted with eight to twelve petals is a sophisticated and complex pattern carved with consummate skill, and unique to this sculpture. We would again place this Gaṇeśa closer to late 10th century.



Fig. 2.17 Cat. 11 Gaṇeśa, IM, Kolkata



Fig. 2.16 Detail of the *sash* and the textile pattern, Below, Drawing of the lotus flower pattern on the lower legs.



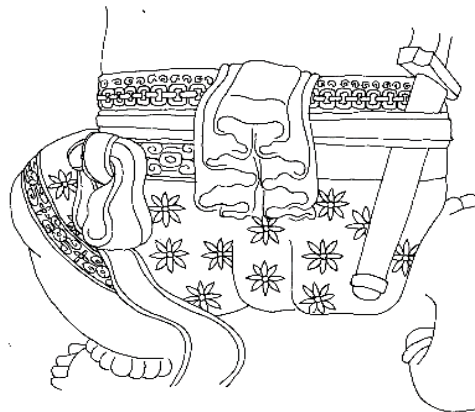
The large stone Dvarapāla Cat. 12 has been dated to the 12th to 14th centuries, carved with a smooth white andesite stone. There is once again a simple continuous pattern of a daisy flower, this one with pointed petals, somewhat similar as Cat. 9. We would suggest that this sculpture should be given an earlier date of the 11th century, nearer the beginning of the east Javanese period, due to the fact the textile pattern fits more closely with central Java. The unusual detail of his dress depicts a clear ‘brocaded’ pattern on the border of his short *kain* (Fig. 2.18).



Fig. 2.19 Cat.12 Dvarapāla, SM, Jogjakarta



Fig. 2.18 Detail of the *kain* and *sash*, below drawing of the textile pattern and lower body.



2.1.2 Stylised Flowers

The gold figure of Viṣṇu Cat. 13 is finely cast and dressed in royal attire as indicated by his elaborate *dhoti* draped in a most unusual manner,⁴⁵ (Fig. 2.20). The pattern is carved with a simple four petal flower of four dots and four semi-circles. The *dhotī* is tied with a metal belt which is apparent from the way it is carved, falling on the front of both legs. The right leg is flexed at the knee and the foot is elevated from the ground as if the statue is taking a step.

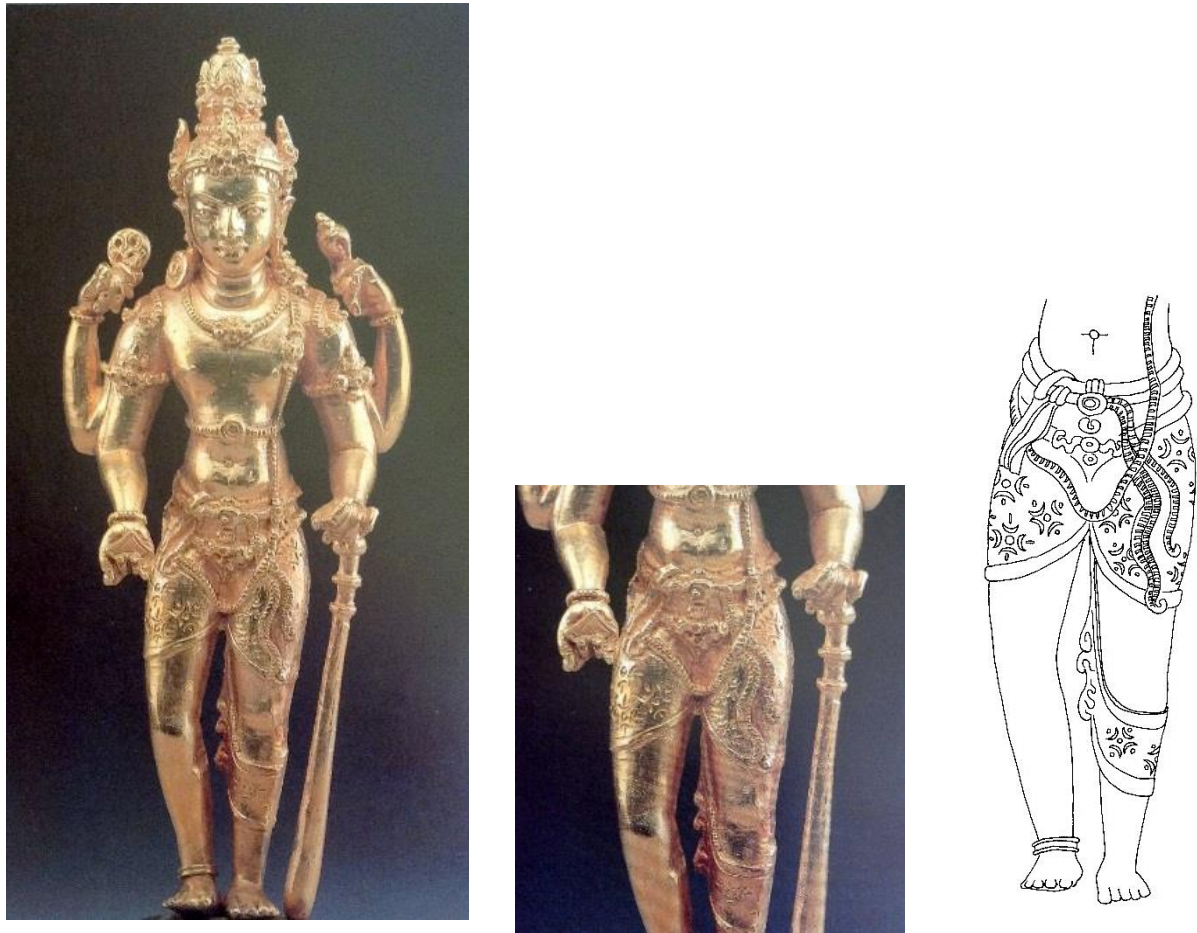


Fig. 2.20 Cat.13, Viṣṇu. MNI, Jakarta. Detail of the lower leg and drawing of the textile pattern

The small gold Buddha Cat. 14, crowned and dressed in royal attire appears in deep meditation seated on a double lotus cushion upon a low base, the hands in *bodhyagrī mudrā* (Fig. 2.21). He wears elaborate jewellery made up of small globules of gold that are rather

⁴⁵ There is an extraordinary similarity in the style of the dress of this figure and the 1m high Avalokiteśvara made in Tibet by Kashmir artists. The way the *dhotī* and chain belts are depicted in both statues is uncanny. (Maxwell, R. 2003b. *Sari to Sarong, Five Hundred Years of Indian and Indonesian Textile Exchange*. London: National Gallery of Australia.:62 Fig 34.



Fig. 2.21 Cat. 14, Buddha Mahāvairocana, RM, Amsterdam. Detail of the lower leg and drawing of the textile pattern.

crudely constructed compared to the earlier figures. This change in style is evidence of the beginning of the early east Javanese period (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:93). The damaged *upavīta* falls to the folded legs, where the *kain* is marked at the ankles with a repeat pattern of four dots and semi circles. The sash appears draped over the right thigh, carved with the same pattern as the *kain*.

2.1.3 Circles

The four armed and four headed gold image of Brahmā Cat. 15 stands on a double lotus pedestal, the *seléndang* is a wide decorated band across the body, a typical feature. The *kain* falls the length of the body and finishes with a wavy line, the pattern carved with a simple continuous motif of circles or dots, with no apparent border pattern (Fig. 2.22), indicative of a block print or perhaps a bandhani pattern.



Fig. 2.22 Cat. 15, Brahmā, Provenance unknown, detail of lower leg and drawing of the textile pattern

This petit and softly moulded two armed image of a bronze Mañjuśrī Cat.16 is depicted with the *seléndang* marked as a wide band across the body. The *kain* is shown at the ankles where the fine fabric clings closely to the legs decorated with a pattern in double horizontal lines in which are carved small circles (Fig. 2.24). As no details of a cloth lay on the lotus cushion in front of the body we can only assume a tight *dhoti* worn in the Indian style.

Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer have suggested that this bronze is a local copy of the bronze Avalokitésvara from Bangladesh or Orissa (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:69 & 73). The analysis refers to the “supple, well-moulded body” (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke:69), an analysis to which we concur (Fig. 2.23). However, the key differences are clearly in the facial features, as suggested by Huntington, who has pointed out that the eyes in the Indian examples generally appear larger and stare out with a rather bulbous nose and full

outlined lips (Huntington 1994:61), whereas the Javanese figures have more delicate facial features.



Fig. 2.24 Cat. 16 Mañjuśrī, RM, Amsterdam. Detail of the lower body and drawing of the textile pattern.

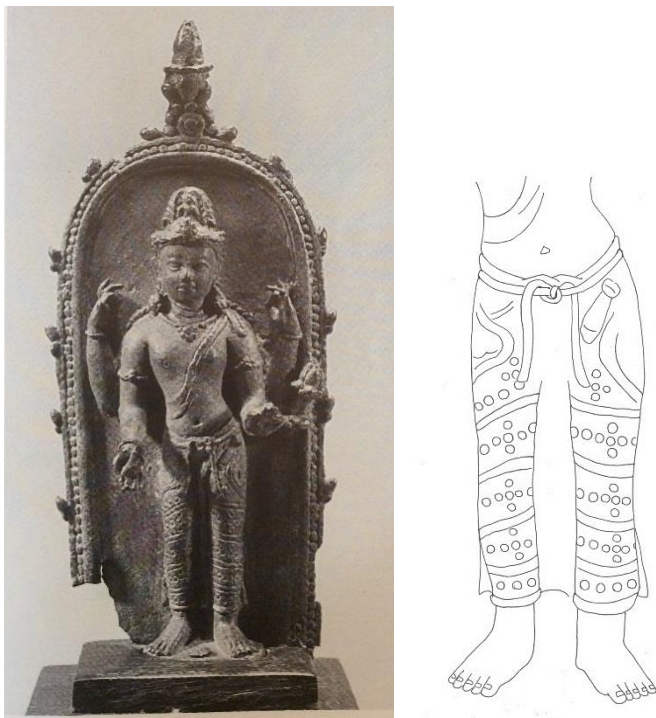


Fig. 2.23 Avalokiteśvara, southeast Bangladesh, bronze, 8th to early-9th century. RMV, Leiden. Drawing of the textile pattern.

A textile known as *bandhani*, a tie and dye resist fabric, a pattern such as this appears somewhat similar to the pattern on Cat. 16 and on this small Indian figure of Avalokitésvara (Fig. 2.25). Despite the fact the Javanese figures show only a small circular pattern, it is likely this could be a type of tie dye pattern that the sculptor has chosen to depict, leaving out the dot in the centre of the motif. However these small circular repeated patterns are also likely to represent a mordant dyed and block printed cotton as depicted in Appendix 3, Plate 11 and 12.



Fig. 2.25 Detail of Indian *bandhani* tie and dyed textile, Pullen collection

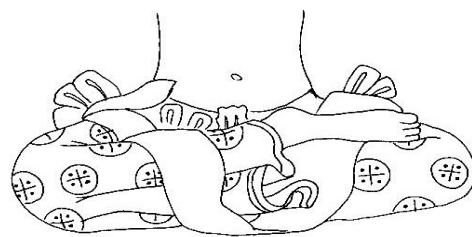


Fig. 2.26 Cat. 17 Prajñāpāramitā RM, Amsterdam. Detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern.

The two armed bronze figure of Prajñāpāramitā Cat. 17 (Fig. 2.26) is depicted in deep repose. She wears elaborate jewellery, appears cast with small globules of bronze giving a

'spiky' rather drude effect. The *seléndang* is just visible between the breasts,⁴⁶ on the limbs the *kain* is depicted carved at the ankles, with a pattern of repeated circular design with a cross and four dots. Draped over the *kain* is a wide sash. The features of this small figure, her face and the casting of the jewellery, the sash and the textile design, but not the pattern, are clearly in the early east Javanese style (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:96).

The diminutive bronze figure of the goddess Dhupa with a sweet smile, Cat. 18 is bedecked with jewellery set with stones, such as the *channavīra*, the crossed belts which dissect the body,⁴⁷ she has distended earlobes and large earrings, plus a simple belt (Fig. 2.27). The *kain* is shown at the ankles carved with a repeated circular pattern of semi-circles and dots. Five bronze statuettes in the Samuel Eilenberg Collection similar to this one, also



Fig. 2.27 Cat.18 Goddess Dhupa, one of the Eight Bodhisattvas Dakinis. Current location unknown. Detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern

appear to have a textile pattern, however due to the small size of the images it is difficult to detect any details (Kulke, Kesavapany and Sakhuja:198-201). The *kain* is held up with a narrow

⁴⁶ Not seen in this photograph but only when enlarged.

⁴⁷ This type of jewellery is worn by women, children and young men. (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. 1984b. *Indo-Javanese Metalwork*. Stuttgart: Linden-Museum.: 56, Fig. 20.

sash tied at the right side in a bow, and it is difficult to detect if the sash ends fall to the side of the body, as they are not apparent over the legs. The long slender body, the spiky jewellery, the slender face and pointed nose and the slender torso, all appear as features of the early east Javanese style of bronze figures.⁴⁸

2.1.4 Four-Petal Flowers in Bands



Fig. 2.28 Cat. 19 Agastya, BPCM-Cultural Heritage Preservation Centre, Prambanan. Detail of the lower body and drawing of the textile pattern

This stone Agastya Cat.19 is depicted with a pattern on the *kain* of a large flower with four long petals set within horizontal bands across the body, despite the break in the legs it is clear the *kain* finishes at the ankles with a fold of the cloth at the front of the body. A particular feature of note is the wide *seléndang* carved with clearly marked pattern which appears to represent a series of vajra across the cloth (Fig. 2.28).

⁴⁸ Aciri describes the second wave of Esoteric Buddhism between late 10th to the 13th century, when Nālandā-style imagery (re)appears in Java, as is evident in the group of bronzes from Surcolo and Nganjuk, which appear to represent esoteric *maṇḍalas*. Both these statues C.26 and C.27 are part of this group. (Aciri, A. 2015. Revisiting the Cult of Siva-Buddha in Java and Bali. In *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. D. C. Lammerts, 261-281. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.:19.

This pair of gold Javanese deities Cat.20, Lunsingh Scheurleer has suggested perhaps represent ancestors (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2013:38, ill. 23), however they could be a royal couple forming deified ancestors. The *dhoti* is clearly unique to these two figures, however we agree with Warming and Garwoski who suggest they are not wearing a *dhoti* but the *dodot*, the large ceremonial hip wrapper worn by royalty (Warming and Garwoski 1981:122). The *dodot* on the female covers the lower part of the body to the ankles, in the Javanese style with the fullness of the cloth depicted at each side of her body. However, the male is shown wearing two cloths as seen from the rear of the body, and on the front the *dodot* is depicted with the pattern where his legs appear to be bare. However, on closer inspection he is cast with a plain cloth probably representing a 'trouser' of some sort hugging the legs, the ends indicated at the ankles. It has also been suggested that the 'bow' at the back of the body represents a flower (Miksic 1999:38). The pattern consists of horizontal bands with a four petal flower placed between the bands. On the female figure the border pattern constitutes an inverted V, we suggest this could be a version of the *tumpal* motif which became so popular in Indonesian textiles (Fig. 2.30). They both wear a sash across the thighs, the fabric appearing ruched as if there was a substantial amount of material, which in the case of the female fans out over the top of her sash worn low around her hips to hold the



Fig. 2.29 Cat. 20. Pair of Javanese Deities holding hands, MNI, Jakarta



Fig. 2.31 Cat. 20. Detail of the lower limbs depicted the front and rear of the body

dodot. The sash is in our opinion clearly depicted tied in a large stylised bow on the reverse of the body and does not represent a flower as suggested by Miksic.

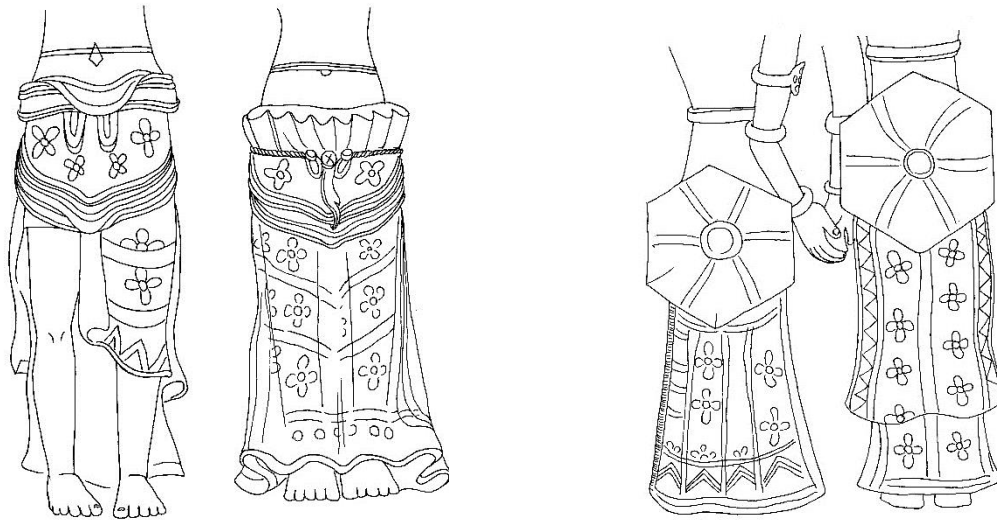


Fig. 2.30 Cat. 20. Drawing of the textile pattern, depicting the front and the rear of the body

This diminutive damaged figure of Trailokya-Vijaya Cat. 21 wears two cloths, one long plain *kain* which reaches to below the knees over which is carved a shorter patterned cloth. The pattern made up of horizontal bands of circles and small alternating geometric motifs (Fig. 2.32).



Fig. 2.32 Cat. 21, Trailokya-vijaya **C.11**, s'GS, Leiden. Detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern.

The *dhotī* is tied in the south Indian style falling between the legs to the knee on the right leg and to the mid-calf on the left leg. We would argue this aspect of the statuette is damaged as suggested by the incomplete textile pattern. The design is carved with a simple series of vertical stripes interspaced with a small four petal flower and a zigzag border pattern (Fig. 2.32). This image is finely cast with plenty of details in the ornaments and the overall dress. By observing other sculptures of Trailokya-vijaya which generally appear much larger, we assume that this figure would have been used for personal worship.

This remarkable large gold figure of Śiva with a slender body and four arms Cat. 22, stands with a simple halo behind his head. He wears a *dhotī* in the south Indian style pulled tightly up between the legs (Fig. 2.33).

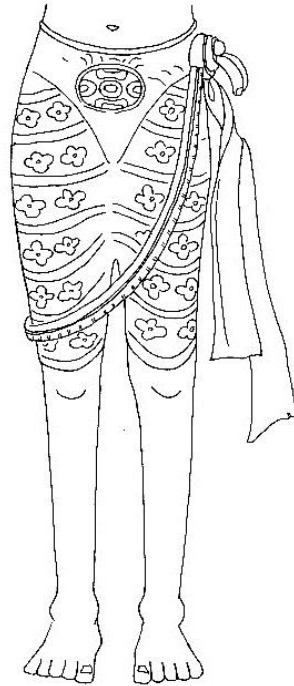


Fig. 2.33 Cat. 22.Śiva, MNI, Jakarta. Drawing of the textile pattern.

As it is not possible to see the reverse of the statue we can only guess that the cloth would be revealed tucked in the belt at the rear of the figure. The *kain* is carved with a simple four petal flower set within double horizontal bands. This small gold figure stands out amongst the Javanese statues, as clearly dressed in the 'South Indian style' (Bernet Kempers 1959:34, plate 33), but the features remain entirely Javanese. He is a key example of the high quality of gold casting in the 8th and 9th centuries.

2.2 Group 2- Complex Compound Patterns

2.2.1 Flowers in Horizontal Bands

The figure of this silver Mañjuśrī Cat. 23 is seated in *lalitāsana* in *kumara-bhūta* (Fontein 1990:194, plate.46), his youthful appearance also known as *śikhādhara* (Bernet Kempers 1933:51, Bernet Kempers 1959:51, plate.110). The *kain* falls to the ankles and covers the limbs which are revealed beneath a fine fabric. The design of horizontal bands, circles and small alternating floral motif represent a four petal 'fleur de lys' motif (Fig. 2.34).

By close observation we suggest this image follows the strict iconographical rules of Pāla, northeast India. Bernet Kempers has suggested that this figure was carried into Java at the beginning of the 10th century Bernet Kempers (1959:52). However in theory we concur with Bernet Kempers' as the figure exhibits very little of the Javanese aesthetic we have come



Fig. 2.34 Cat. 23, Mañjuśrī, MNI, Jakarta. Drawing of the textile pattern.

to expect in this period, except that there do not exist any such examples in India, therefore we suggest and propose this sculpture was made in Java perhaps by an Indian craftsman. Having said this, the facial features in our opinion reflect more closely to Java than India, hence the face replicates the local physiognomy. This is a particularly fine example of Javanese bronze casting

This large bronze and gilt figure of Śiva Cat. 24, displays a clearly marked *seléndang* as a wide band etched with three lines, the flap just apparent on the left shoulder. The design on the kain which falls as a fine cloth to the ankles, is made up of a four petal flower outlined with dots placed within horizontal bands carved with a geometric border (Fig. 2.35). The facial features of this statue are particularly notable.

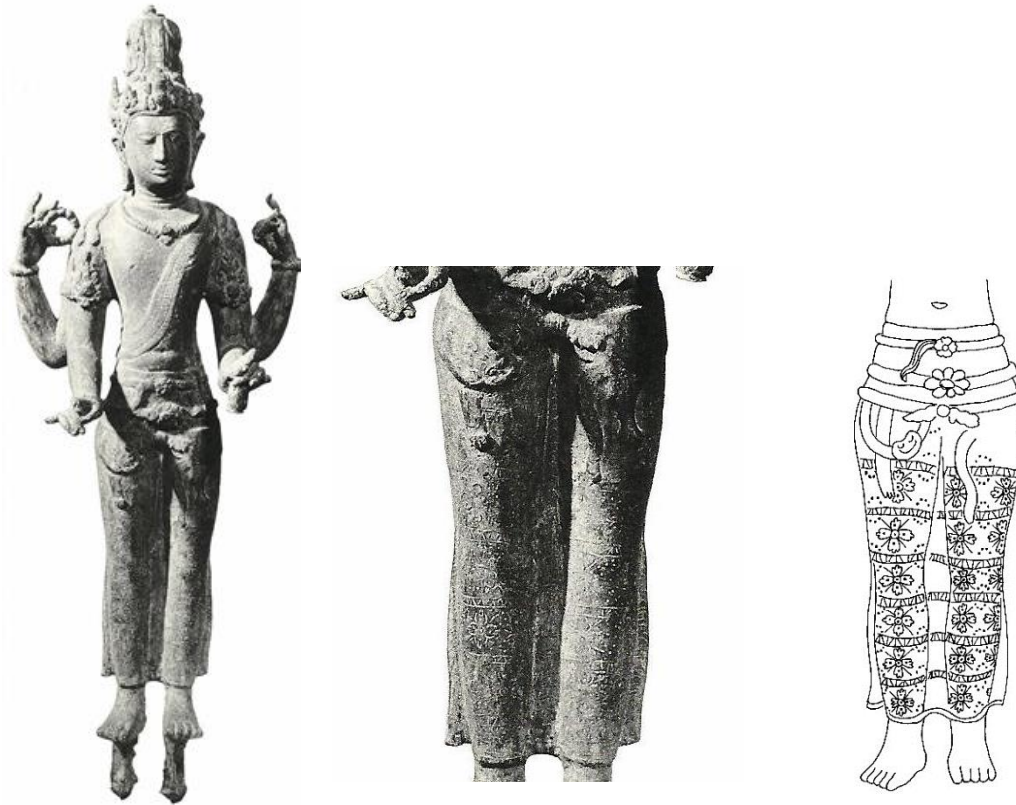


Fig. 2.35 Cat. 24, Śiva Mahadeva, MSB, Jogjakarta. Detail of the lower legs and a drawing of the textile pattern.

The figure of Tārā is cast in a dark bronze Cat. 25, portrayed with the *seléndang* marked with small lines and dots. The *kain* finishes at the ankles appears as a thin cloth revealing the shape of the body beneath. The pattern is carved with a repeat motif of a '*fleur de lys*', set within double bands incised with small dots (Fig. 2.36), the chain belt is shown draped over the *kain* folded at the waist with two simple ties with the ends appearing over the lower legs. Her countenance is in deep repose with the lips and ūrnā marked in gold, the facial features mark this statue as one of the finest presented here. It is unfortunate that the surface of the silver appears somewhat corroded.

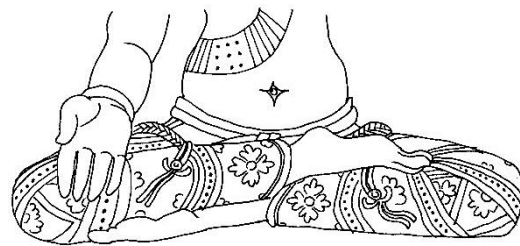


Fig. 2.36 Cat. 25, Tārā MNI, Jakarta. Detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern.

2.2.2 Complex Geometric Patterns in Bands

These statues are remarkable in their distinctive decorative features such as the similarity in the patterns replicated in Indian block-printed and mordant-dyed textiles.

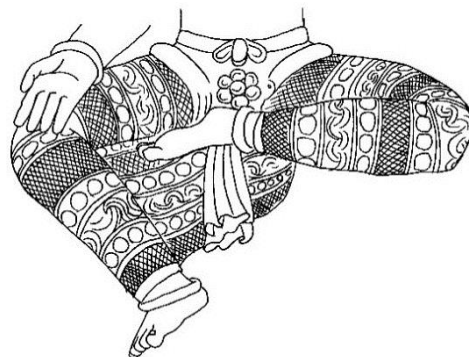


Fig. 2.37 Cat. 26. Avalokiteśvara NHSM, Vienna. A drawing of the textile pattern.

The figure of Avalokitėsvara in bronze Cat. 26 ⁴⁹ wears the upavīta as a chain in the Indian style, the *kain* appears draped at the ankles, finished with pleats at the front the cloth which clearly reveals the body beneath. For such a small sculpture the complex pattern is crisply depicted consisting of a series of horizontal bands filled with circles and small alternating geometric patterns (Fig. 2.37).

The goddess Chunda or Mahapratisara cast in bronze Cat. 27 is depicted here with twelve arms. The goddess wears simple jewellery, large pendula earrings and necklace, with her hair curls falling over the shoulders. The *seléndang* is etched just visibly as a wide band across the body marked with a simple pattern, the flap clearly visible on the left shoulder. The subtle pattern replicates that of the *kain*, both of which are of a similar pattern as that of Cat.



Fig. 2.38 Cat 27, Goddess Cundā, RPM, Solo. Detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern.

26, which represents a complex compound design, of horizontal bands decorated with a daisy

⁴⁹ This figure is probably in bronze, we have no record of its material, but the general appearance would suggest bronze.

flower and geometric patterns⁵⁰ (Fig. 2.38). The surface of the bronze does not have the smoothness of some of the previous examples.

This repoussé gold plaque is of a royal couple Cat. 28, depicts a male and female holding hands. The male figure wears a *dhotī*, but rather than the cloth wound around the legs tightly it has been folded up and partly tucked in at the waist line following south Indian traditions (Lerner and Kossak 1991:188, Fig 146). The *dhotī* has been decorated with the repoussé technique and then incised with decoration probably from the front (Fig. 2.39). The pattern on the male figure consists of a small stylised four petal flower within vertical bands. The female on the other hand is wearing a sophisticated pattern on her *kain* which falls the length of the body in the Javanese style, the outline of the legs not visible, which might suggest it is meant to indicate a heavier cloth.



Fig. 2.39 Cat.28. Royal couple plaque, MNI, Jakarta. Drawing of the textile patterns

The *kain songket* from Malaysia is one such example of the type of cloth and patterning which we suggest could be the type of textile depicted on these small figures (Fig.

⁵⁰ The poor quality of the photo taken Fontein from does not lend itself for reproduction. (Fontein 1990).

2.40). It represents a complex geometric design within wide vertical bands with a plain border



along the lower edge, the pattern similar to that of her partner. From the layout of the patterning, we would suggest the structure of the garment might represent a brocade or *songket* or another suggestion is a cotton block print overlaid with gold known as *prada* in Java. The patterning on the *songket* indicates a series of bands with geometric patterning,⁵¹ identical in structure to Cat.28.

Fig. 2.40 *Kain Songket*, Malaysia, property of Sim Tan, Kuala Lumpur

Jessup has described this plaque as the “image of divine power in the suggestion of the Buddha implicit with a lotus umbrella” (Jessup 1990:50). However the concept of the so called ‘lotus umbrella’ is also a symbol of royalty. This plaque might have been made as some kind of ‘portrait’ as the facial features would indicate this. The eyes are open and the faces do not appear to share any similarity to any other central Javanese religious deities.



Fig. 2.41 Cat. 29, Viṣṇu. s’Gravzande Store, Leiden. Detail of lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern

⁵¹ Refer to Chapter 3 for evidence of the early evidence of *songket* weaving and the making of *prada*.

This small damaged bronze of Viṣṇu. Cat. 29, is depicted wearing two cloths, a short patterned textile to the knees, with a pattern of horizontal bands consisting of circles and small alternating geometric motifs, under which is a longer plain textile (Fig. 2.41). The depiction of the sashes and belts is particularly finely cast, on a surface with an excellent patina.



Fig. 2.42 Cat.30, Śiva Plaque MNI, Jakarta, Drawing of the lower legs indicating the textile pattern.

The physiognomy of this Śiva gold repoussé plaque Cat. 30 appears to be somewhat androgynous (Fig. 2.42). The *kain* falls to the ankles in the style of a typical Javanese sarong, the fabric hangs stiffly with no depiction of the limbs beneath, over his hips lies the tiger skin. The *kain* held up with a cloth belt shown as a fabric sash which drapes on the front of both legs, carved with a simple pattern of incised dots within plain horizontal bands. Miksic has described the wide striped design as indicative of a ceremonial *dhoti* or *dodot* (Miksic:44).⁵² Draped over all the garments is a metal belt which lies low on the hips, at the waist line. The artist has cleverly depicted the punched design of the textile behind all the belts.

⁵² We do not agree with Miksic's description of the hip cloth on this Śiva. In our opinion it is clearly not a *dhoti* as the cloth is draped in the wrong fashion, the limbs are not visible beneath the cloth, nor is the patterning indicative of an Indian design. It is neither a *dodot*, as this large ceremonial textile worn by the Javanese generally over another cloth, with the extra fabric depicted out to one side and a trouser to be worn beneath. This is clearly visible on both Śiva and Parvati C.4.

The sheet gold plaque of Harihara Cat. 31 is relatively large, shown with a long *dhotī* which falls to the calves where the centre panel has been pulled up between the legs and probably tucked in at the rear (Miksic 1999:48). We would suggest this is not the case, however as it is possibly just the means of tying the fabric in the style of a *dhotī* (Fig. 2.43). The surface is carved with two different patterns to represent two different deities, Śiva, on the



Fig. 2.43 Cat. 31, Harihara Plaque MNI, Jakarta. Drawing of the textile pattern depicting the style of dress.

right, displays no pattern but just the folds of a fine cloth, where Viṣṇu on the left is shown with a detailed curved pattern along the folds of the cloth. This type of patterning is indicative of a design on the cloth, but because it is so small it remains difficult to decipher.

This plaque is full of the smallest detail, but we cannot in this case be sure the artist had a particular textile in mind, only to make the two halves of the deity differ, therefore in this instance we would advocate a certain similarity to plaques from Si Thep. We would suggest this indicates Si Thep had a thriving commercial activity, where different imported models could easily have existed (Brown:42-44). It has been dated by Fontein and Brown to the 8th and 9th centuries, however it could have been earlier, reflecting the inter-regional trade at the time. There is no tradition in Thailand or indeed India of carving textile patterns

on cloth on gold plaques such as these, therefore we suggest that this piece is of Javanese origin with inspiration from somewhere else, probably Mainland Southeast Asia.



Fig. 2.44 Cat.32, Umā Plaque, MNI, Jakarta. Detail of the lower body with a drawing of the textile pattern

This last gold plaque of Umā Cat. 32 wears a *dhotī* depicted folded to above the knees and probably tucked in at the rear of the body, carved with a detailed geometric pattern of dots within vertical wavy lines (Fig. 2.44). It is hard to detect, but it is possible there is a thin cloth which falls the length of the body beneath the loincloth. A thick metal belt holds up the *kain*, over which is depicted a twisted fabric belt tied off behind the arms. If we look at the art of Si Thep⁵³ in southern Thailand, there is clearly a similar moulding of the body to the stone sculptures of Viṣṇu (Brown 1999:42-44). However the gold plaque dated c.700 from Si Thep demonstrates a strong contrapposto, indicating little similarity except for the concept of a deity reproduced in a plaque (Pal 2004:116, fig. 84). Moreover, in the art of Si Thep there appear no known figures with these distinctive features, which we suggest makes this figure of a female goddess of Javanese origin.

⁵³ This was in the 4th -6th century

However the textile pattern does evoke some similarities with Thai supplementary weft and weft ikat textiles, from the Tai Lue and Lao groups (McIntosh 2012:76-97). This is evident from the use of narrow bands of patterns, also seen in Khmer weft ikat, as is evident from this 20th century textile (Fig. 2.45), the pattern on the plaque does evoke a certain similarity in the layout of the bands of these Lao and Khmer textiles. Even though it is unlikely either of these textile techniques were being made in the 9th century, we are however suggesting a similarity in patterning. We can also suggest that the textile pattern on this gold plaque could be replicating a pattern of an *ikat* of some sort as the example on the left indicates.



Fig. 2.45 Left, Khmer *sampot hol*, weft ikat, 20th century. Right, Lao *sin mii*, supplementary weft, 21st century, Pullen Collection

2.2.3 Diagonal Bands incorporating Flowers

These two unusual small bronze figures in Cat.33 are part of a Buddhist mandala belonging to the Surocolo group, part of the early stage of iconographical development of Esoteric mandala (Fontein 1990:224).⁵⁴ On the left the divine sow and on the right the divine mare, both appear with a pattern on the long *kain* carved with a continuous diamond shaped pattern with simply carved flowers⁵⁵ (Fig. 2.47). The *sash* is folded over and depicted at the side of the body tied in a stylised bow (Fig. 2.46). The two-armed image of a female with a

⁵⁴ The statuettes have been divided into three groups, according to Fontein these two figures are part of a group all placed on a lotus pedestal. (Fontein, J. 1990. *Sculpture of Indonesia*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.:227

⁵⁵ Barnes describes numerous patterns with rosettes their petals rounded off set within a geometric outline Barnes, R. 1997b. *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.:63

boar's head stands astride a double lotus cushion,⁵⁶ both figures wear a tall pointed crown with protrusions with hair curls on the shoulders. The long slender body and the depiction of the jewellery again reflects the early east Javanese style of the 11th and 12th centuries.⁵⁷ The surface of the bronze is rather crudely cast, but the figures depict a liveliness which is often not present in the central Javanese statues.



Fig. 2.46 Cat.33. Buddhist Mandala statues, in the Nganjuk Style. Left Divine Sow, Right, Divine Mara, Location Unknown

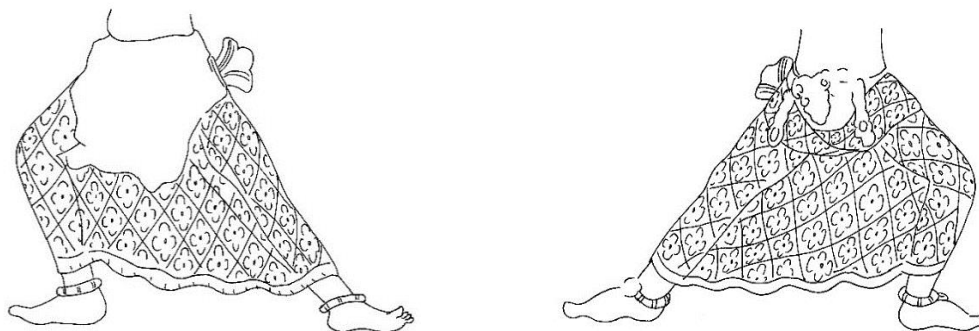


Fig. 2.47 Cat.33. Drawing of the textile pattern

⁵⁶ The wide apart stance of the legs is highly unusual feature in Javanese sculpture, but a feature required for Tantric deities. (Lunsingh Scheurleer, P. & M. J. Klokke. 1988. *Divine Bronze. Ancient Indonesian Bronzes, from A.D. 600 to 1600*. Leiden: E.J.Brill.:32

⁵⁷ Another group of these bronzes are situated in the MNI, behind glass in a badly lit cabinet. It is quite possible that some of these very small bronzes are decorated with textile patterns, however they are impossible to access.

This squat stone figure of a gaṇa Cat. 34, portrays all the features of an attendant of Siva.⁵⁸ His *kain* falls straight to his feet, with no depiction of his legs beneath, the pattern is carved with a large motif set within a triangular framework (Fig. 2.48). The date of 11th century attributed by the museum to the early east Javanese period, is based on his style, which by appearance does not fit in the central Javanese nor into the later east Javanese style. Our initial reaction is to place him at the very beginning of the central Javanese period in the 8th century, using the rather 'lumpy' and unsophisticated style and quality of the carving along with the unsophisticated pattern on his *kain*, however this is merely a suggestion, as more research needs to be completed on this unusual statue.



Fig. 2.48 Cat. 34 Gaṇa, Jawa Tengah Office, Ronggorworsito Museum, Semarang, Detail of the lower legs and a drawing of the textile pattern.

⁵⁸ Gaṇa are rotund dwarf-like figures, derived from yaksa cults, adopted in Hinduism as Śiva's faithful attendants, with Gaṇeśa as their acknowledged leader. (Wisseman Christie, J. 1993a. Ikat to Batik? Epigraphic Data on Textiles in Java from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries. In *Weaving Patterns of Life, Indonesian Textile Symposium*, eds. M. L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, R. Barnes & D. J. Stuart-Fox, 11-29. Basel, Switzerland: Museum of Ethnology.:184 Glossary

2.3 Group 3 - 'Embroidery' Pattern

This sizeable gold statue of Pārvatī Cat. 35 is paired with Śiva Cat. 22. This figure is unique to all of the Javanese sculptures presented in this thesis. This kind of textile, the style and patterning of her *kain* is extremely rare. The *kain* reaches to the mid-shin level depicted as would a *tapis* from Lampung in South Sumatra, rather than a longer *kain* from Java which normally is shown with a pleat at the front. The shape of the body is not revealed beneath the fabric which drapes free of the limbs beneath. We can interpret this pattern in any number of ways, however we propose, the pattern represents a continuous floral motif with stylised 'octopus' shaped theme in vertical bands (Fig. 2.49).



Fig. 2.49 Cat 35. Pārvatī, MNI, Jakarta. Drawing of the dress showing the textile pattern

Due to the heavy appearance of the fabric not clinging to the legs, and the patterning of the fabric, in comparison to the previous sculptures, we make a suggestion that this fabric is representing a brocade or woven cloth or perhaps an embroidery with silk threads, sometime called silk floss, where the silk is not so tightly twisted as a normal silk thread. We put forward this theory based on the similar types of textiles that we see today in Lampung in south Sumatra. The motif on the gold statuette is very similar to the 'octopus' or '*cumi-cumi*' shaped motif, a typical pattern on '*tapis*', a women's sarong cloth from Lampung,⁵⁹ (Fig. 2.50).



Fig. 2.50 Section from a tapis or sarong, Lampung, Sumatra. Left, IPG, Yale, Middle, Pullen Collection, Right, MNI, Jakarta, Inv no. 20439.

⁵⁹ The women's *tapis* evolved in a completely different manner to elsewhere in the Indonesian islands. The design depends primarily on embroidery with gold and silver threads to create the detailed patterns. The patterns depicted in horizontal bands are created with a silk floss in a long satin stitch, often replicating animals from the seas as these stylised octopus would indicate. The *tapis* is worn during traditional ceremonies by women. The position of Lampung placed at the extreme southern tip of Sumatra, led them to be the guardians of the trade routes to and from Southeast Asia. Traders from India, China, people from the Arab lands and the Javanese themselves, have travelled to these ports. Brought into the region were new materials, techniques and different design elements and ideas for textile patterns. Gittinger, M. 1979. *Splendid Symbols, Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia*. Washington DC: The Textile Museum. : 79-83. Lampung has been part of many maritime kingdoms since at least the 5th century, where has been almost continuous from this period until the 20th century. Totton, M.-L. 2009. *Wearing Wealth and Styling Identity: Tapis from Lamung, South Sumatra*. Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth Art College.: xi

The foreign influences felt by the polity of Śrīvijaya projected to the southern tip of Sumatra, in this region from as early as the 6th century a vast wealth was created by the pepper trade. The hegemony of the rule from Java in the 8th and 9th century, could easily have been the influence for these designs which reached central Java and depicted on this gold deity. Holmgren, R. J. & A. E. Spertus. 1980. Tampan Pasisir: Pictorial Documents of an Ancient Indonesian Coastal Culture. In *Indonesian Textiles*, ed. M. Gittinger, 157-201. Washington DC: The Textile Museum.:164

There are many uncanny similarities between this gold statuette and the current tapis textiles presented here. We suggest that these two figures Cat.22 and 35 may have been cast in Sumatra and carried over to Java. The style is somewhat more akin to the slender style of Śrīvijaya figures, rather than the more rounded Indianized central Javanese figures. The very unusual textile pattern is perhaps testimony that the weavers in Sumatra at the time were able to make such complex patterns. We propose these figures could be dated to the 8th centuries (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988:60, fig. 8), the slender body and the depiction of the *upavīta* is similar in Cat. 22 to this Viṣṇu in Bernet Kempers, rather than the 9th century to which this figure is currently dated by Bernet Kempers (Bernet Kempers 1959:34, Plate 33). A suggestion can also be made that these two gold statuettes were perhaps commissioned as part of the court arts of the Śrīvijaya at the time. We can only but make suggestion as to what was the inspiration behind these two extraordinary figures and their remarkable textile patterns.

2.4 Group 4 - Full Dress Patterns

This seated figure in pale white tuff, of an ancestor Cat.36 remains in *situ* in a small site museum in Sumatra. The reason for adding this sculpture to this chapter, is the dating believed to be sometime between the 11th to the early-13th century, which places it in the early east Javanese period. The upper body is clothed in a long sleeved jacket or *baju*, it comes together at the centre and held with the belt. The blouse is decorated with a simple triangular motif on the vertical axis made up of four trefoils with a dot in the centre. The *baju* is depicted

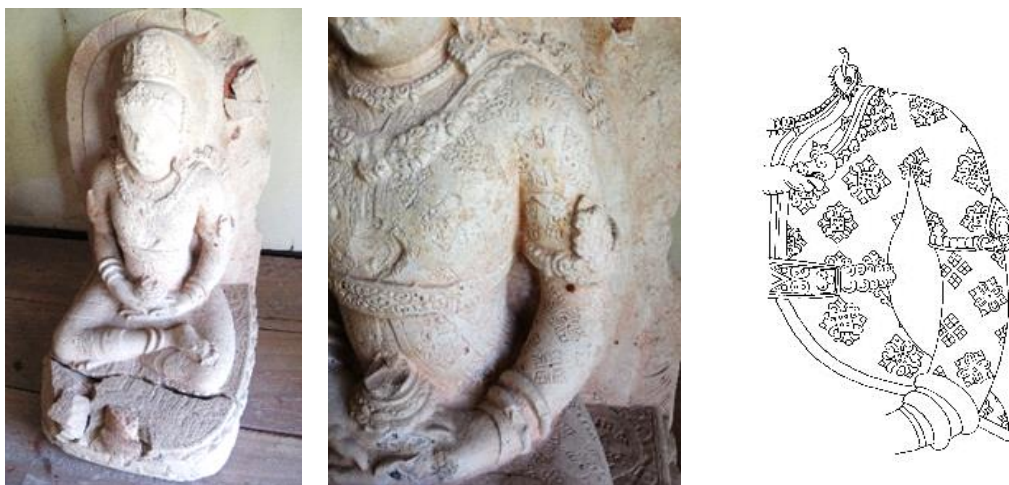


Fig. 2.51 Cat.36, Arcā Leluhur 1, Bumiayu Temple 1. South Sumatra Site Museum Desa Bumiayu, Kecamatan Tanah Abang, south Sumatra. Detail of the upper body garment and drawing of the textile pattern.

over the thighs onto the cushion at the side of the body. A patterned *kain* is depicted finishing above the ankles with a detailed border; the pattern replicates the *baju* but appears to be unfinished. The decoration within the circles is unique to this particular sculpture. Over the thighs lays a double sash which ties in the centre, one set of the ends falls to the side of the body to the cushion, the other ends falls to the cushion in front of the body.

The second seated ancestor figure Cat. 37 also in a pale tuff stone, was found in Java and dated to the 12th century plus, however stylistically from the textile patterns we would propose an earlier date of 10th to 11th century, stylistically we have described this statue as Kaḍiri, although realistically we cannot truly place this figure. The description of the dress differs slightly, but it is remarkable to find two sculptures dressed with patterns in this fashion. The upper body is clothed in a long sleeved jacket or *baju*, it comes together at the centre and held with the belt. The blouse is decorated with a simple eight petal daisy around a centre circle, the large motif is place symmetrically over the *baju*. A patterned *kain* is depicted finishing above the ankles with a simple border; the pattern is difficult to decipher but appears on the left front knee as simple circles. The pattern is very similar to Cat.12, which has been dated to 12th to 14th century.



Fig. 2.52 Cat.37. Arcā Dewa/Leluhur, NMI Jakarta, Details of the upper body jacket showing the belt across the chest. A drawing of the textile pattern on the jacket.

It is not the place of this thesis to try and change the dating of some of these sculptures, however we feel that by grouping the textiles, a certain timeline could become evident.

2.5 Summary of Textile Patterns

The Javanese appeared to be willing recipients of ideas from India, ideas which were subsequently absorbed and incorporated. However these ideas appeared to be part of a two way relationship. In the first instance, de Casparis has written describing the Indian Negapatam bronzes, “a number of which apparently show Indonesian influences”, he goes on to suggest that “Indonesian influence can also be observed in some of the Nālandā bronzes”. He suggests caution is necessary in trying to interpret and analyse the bronzes from these two regions (Casparis 1983:14). In the second, Pollock describes a ‘Sanskrit Cosmopolis’ which ran from 300-1300, the evidence of this in Java during this period, was by way of inscriptions. “Sanskrit in Java is the first vehicle for a literized royal self-expression”, as Pollock says the use of Sanskrit in Java was for the elite only and not the everyday (Pollock 1996:229). Lastly a suggestion by De Casparis who describes the period from the end of the 10th to the first thirty years of the 11th “as a brief but important period in international relations in South and Southeast Asia”. These are recorded between Śrīvijaya and China, east Java and China and south India and China, but most importantly between Chola south Indian and the Indonesian states (Casparis 1983:12). To add, we would like to highlight Wolters theory of “localization”, where he describes a people who were “ready to absorb”, “readily acclimatized” and submitted to “local adaption”. He makes reference to the “self-ascribed Southeast Asian Hindus”, who abstracted Sanskrit materials from the original context and made them into a “new cultural whole” (Wolters 1999:173).

As a result of these theories described above, we propose the Javanese during the 8th to 11th centuries appeared to have borrowed ideas which resulted in transculturation. The effect being the rather Indianized types of textile patterns we see depicted on the sculptures in this period.

We have proposed that the textile patterns depicted on some of the statues and statuettes are earlier examples of the equivalent of Indian remnants of cotton block printed

and mordant dyed cloth. We would also suggest from observation that the central and early east Javanese patterns appear to be then reflected in the later period designs from Kashmir and Tibetan of 11th and 12th century statues, and from paintings such as the Green Tara from the Cleveland Museum of Art⁶⁰ (Fig. 2.53). The Javanese came to develop a regional artistic style incorporating many ideas which were learnt from manuscripts, and the connections which were later made between Tibet, Indian, Sri Lanka and Java, along with Śrīvijaya.⁶¹



Fig. 2.53 Thangka with a Green Tara c.1260, Cleveland Museum of Art. Inv. 1970.156. Right, detail of the textile pattern

Jan Schoterman describes an illustrated manuscript, the *Aṣṭasāharsrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, dated from the year 1050 and produced three years after Atīśa,⁶² the manuscript which went from Tibet to Sumatra. The text contains many illustrations of

⁶⁰ Amy Heller has suggested that Newari artists were prevalent in the Yüan court, having been brought in by Khubilai Khan. The esthetic basis of this painting is probably Newari but the subject matter is Tibetan, the painting executed according to Tibetan taste. (Maxwell, R. 2003b. *Sari to Sarong, Five Hundred Years of Indian and Indonesian Textile Exchnage*. London: National Gallery of Australia.:133

⁶¹ These connections have been felt through a renewed focus on Esoteric Buddhism probably triggered by royal patronage between the 10th to the 12th century, and by network connections between South Asia, east Java, Cambodia, central Sumatra and Champa in the 11th to 13th centuries. Wisseman Christie, J. 1993a. Ikat to Batik? Epigraphic Data on Textiles in Java from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries. In *Weaving Patterns of Life, Indonesian Textile Symposium*, eds. M. L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, R. Barnes & D. J. Stuart-Fox, 11-29. Basel, Switzerland: Museum of Ethnology.:20

⁶² A renowned Indian Buddhist scholar (982-1054), one of the most prominent saints of Tibet, who spent twelve years at the court of Śrīvijaya. Ibbitson Jessup, H. 2004b. Motif and Meaning in Indonesian Textiles. In *The James HW Thompson Foundation Symposium*, ed. J. Puranananda, 31-46. Bangkok: River Books.:113

Buddhist Divinities, mostly relating to India, but Sri Lanka, Java, Sumatra the Malay Peninsula are also mentioned, however there was very little mention of Nālandā. In a 1071 manuscript,⁶³ similar Buddhist sanctuaries are mentioned, as is Sri Lanka, but this time only Java is mentioned in the list of important sanctuaries (Ibbitson Jessup 2004a:115). To place this material into context, it is useful to refer to the various compound textile patterns on Cat.26 and Cat.27, and the Vajradhara below from Sri Lanka (Fig. 2.54). All three of which we propose display a distinctly Indian textile pattern as seen in the later Tibet paintings, which closely resembles the textile pattern of the Green Tara at the CMA.⁶⁴

Both textile techniques ikat and block printing have been known as early as the 6th century⁶⁵ as we see in this example depicted in the cave paintings at Ajanta. Most notable of

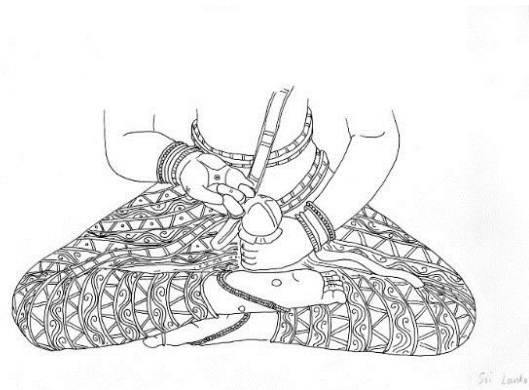


Fig. 2.54 Vajradharma Lokeshvara, bronze, 9th to 10th century, CM, Colombo, drawing of the textile pattern on the lower legs.

⁶³ Of the same name

⁶⁴ Aciri has argued that 'for treating Indonesia and India as an integral unit well into the 9th century' suggesting Borobudur Buddhism has an influence in India, and yet suggesting there is little if no evidence of the inhabitants of Southeast Asia participating in the creation of Tantras. He does suggest however that the contribution of insular Southeast Asia to Vajrayāna Buddhism in Tibet is acknowledged from the 11th century. The transmission of Buddhist ideas from Java and Sumatra to the Himalayan region is without doubt, this is based on architectural and artistic similarities. Wiseman Christie, J. 1993a. Ikat to Batik? Epigraphic Data on Textiles in Java from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries. In *Weaving Patterns of Life, Indonesian Textile Symposium*, eds. M. L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, R. Barnes & D. J. Stuart-Fox, 11-29. Basel, Switzerland: Museum of Ethnology. :11. Therefore we propose there is a certain possibility that some of the textile patterns such as the Green Tara and many other Tibetan examples could easily have been inspired from Javanese designs. We know from information gathered in Chapter 3 that cloth was woven at this early date in Java.

⁶⁵ Iwan Tirtha has suggested the knowledge of ikat dates back to the Dongson period, around the turn of the first millennium. Berg, C. C. (1931a) Kidung Harsa-Wijaya Middel-Javaansche Historische Roman Uitgegeven. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 88, 49-238. :31



Fig. 2.55 Detail of a painting of Mahājanaka Jātaka, Cave 1 Ajanta

which is in Cave 1,⁶⁶ where the *Mahājanaka Jātaka* displays scenes of the life at court and in the palaces (Wisseman Christie 1998b:47 & 85). The central figure depicts the dancer and a number of the musicians clearly wearing a striped cloth worn around the lower body (Fig. 2.55). It has been suggested from the pattern of ‘dashes’ depicted in the painting, the textile was probably replicating the *ikat* method. There does appear to be a

certain influence in the textile patterns from central and early east Javanese, from Indian block printed patterns, these are visible in Appendix 2 Plate 11 and 12, and from southern India in the style of the ornaments and type of dress, especially in the uses of the *dhoti*.⁶⁷ We would also propose as has been alluded to in the catalogue above, that there was a certain amount of inter-regional trade within Southeast Asia as well during this period, as clearly reflected in some of the suggested textile patterns.

Fontein proposes that where central Javanese art is “monumental and robust”, east Javanese art is “intimate and poetic”. Fontein claims that where the art and architecture of central Java was part of the mainstream of the intellectual life of the Buddhist world, the art and architecture of east Java on the other hand is admittedly more self-centred, for example, “as no new impulses from abroad stimulated a search for new forms and methods of expression” (Fontein et al.:45). However we would like to add to this argument that the textile art of central and early east Java was more predictable and perhaps formulaic, whereas the textile arts of east Java in the Kaḍiri and especially the Singhasāri period was not predictable.

⁶⁶ Mahājanaka Jātaka, depicts a dancer with a full company of musicians. www.indian-heritage.org/painting/ajanta/dance4.html

⁶⁷ The similarities in the design and type of jewellery is clearly apparent with the Chola of southern India. A number of publications by Guy and Dehejia cover South Indian bronzes, clearly illustrate these similarities. 2004. Through the Thread of Time, Southeast Asian Textiles. In *The James HW Thompson Foundation Symposium*, ed. J. Puranananda. Bangkok: River Books, ibid.

Many of the statues we carved with unique one-off textile patterns never seen before or again in Java, however in the case of Cat.35, we propose that in this textile pattern we are seeing the first evidence of the kinds of patterns reflected in the *tapis* of Lampung, south Sumatra.

3 Kaḍiri and Singhasāri, 11th century to 1292

The patterns on the textiles of the stone sculptures in this chapter exhibit a considerable amount of outside influence as the rulers of the region engaged in international and inter-regional trade with the Sung and Yüan Chinese dynasties and with Mainland Southeast Asia. This period followed on from the Tang trade with the central and early east Java period. The patterns document the continued trade with India and the Arab world. The statues will be grouped according party to date and partly to textile patterns and will be divided into eight groups. We will not go into detail of each group in this introduction, but we can highlight that the statues from Group 4 display the most varied textile patterns.

Three periods have been recognised to enable the ‘style’ of the sculpture, but not the textile patterns, to identify each figure into either Kaḍiri, Singosari, or Transition Style.⁶⁸ This label will only be added in the Catalogue in Appendix 1. A regional typology will be developed as it becomes apparent that this period in the 13th century produced a distinctive type of textile pattern, in complete contrast to that of the earlier central and early east Javanese period. Sedyawati describes the “interpretation of data about artefacts, is based not only on written sources, but most importantly on examination and analysis of the artefacts themselves”(Sedyawati 1994:2). This formulae we will follow in this examination, as it will become apparent that the many interconnecting factors which we will explore in this chapter, will highlight how the textile patterns might have reflected the origins of each statue. The historical contextualisation will be looked at only briefly where relevant for each sculpture, extended on details each sculpture is given in Appendix 1.

After the central and early east Javanese period, there was a period in the production of sculptures with textile patterns, when patterns did not appear again until the 13th century. Bernet Kempers describes the period of the Kaḍiri kings who:

⁶⁸ To give exact parameters for Kaḍiri style is problematic, as we have only given one sculpture this category. The dating of the statue is Singhasāri but the ‘style’ of the sculpture is Kaḍiri and definitely not Singosari. We have chosen to use the term Singosari, after the caṇḍi, rather than the dynasty Singhasāri, as the majority of the sculptures originate from Caṇḍi Singosari, and this appears to be the predominate style. The Transition style is given to statues which by their textile pattern types, and the dress style of the sculpture, more closely fit to Singosari, but the posture of the body is closely in style to the following Majapahit period.

“left no identifiable remains of any importance” and up to the 13th century the Javanese kings “yielded little of importance from an archaeological point of view” (Bernet Kempers 1959:14).

This quote by Bernet Kempers clearly illustrates the significance for this next phase in the history of east Javanese art, which Bernet Kempers describes as “of much greater importance” (Bernet Kempers:14). It will also become apparent that a number of the textile patterns clearly resemble those from earlier centuries across central Asia and China, indicating that with a breach of hundreds of years, Java and Sumatra were part of a cosmopolitan world where ideas and textiles travelled over a long period.

This chapter will cover the sculpture of the Singhasāri period of the 13th century and some sculptures dated to the early 14th century, during which there were a large amount of stone statues carved with unique textile patterns, a period in history which gave rise to King Kṛtanāgara, the last of the Singhasāri kings. It was primarily under his reign from 1269 to 1292 that we propose this large collection of statues were commissioned, the greater part of which were placed at the Caṇḍi Singosari complex or at Caṇḍi Jago. We propose that to date we have established a worldwide collection all the sculptures which are carved with textile patterns, however these sculptures represent only a fraction of all sculptures made during this period, the remainder generally being of poorer quality and with no textile patterns.

In the Kaḍiri from mid-11th century to 1222, Bernet Kempers stated they left very little remains of importance, except for the seated sculpture known as the Boro Gaṇeśa Cat.38. This figure, is arguably the sculpture most published in Southeast Asian textile and art history books. Given the statue in our opinion does not fit into a Singosari Style, as is evident from the position of the feet together, the rather stiff body and the dating, according to Sedyawati fits more closely with the end of the Kaḍiri period or as she says “the long empty interval between the last known Kaḍiri inscription and the first Singhasāri inscription” (Sedyawati 1994:116). A further discussion on this statue is in Chapter 5.1. In our opinion this is a Kaḍiri statue with a Singhasāri date. Therefore we will categorise this Gaṇeśa as ‘Kaḍiri’, along with Cat.37, although there is no similarity at all in the carving or the depiction of the textile pattern between these two sculptures. The main consideration of this thesis is the question of textile pattern, Cat. 38 has a pattern which we clearly see in the Singosari style, but Cat. 37, is more in the central early east Javanese style. However the reminder of the features on Gaṇeśa, especially the rather rough andesite stone which results in a cruder form of carving,

establishes in our opinion that he was made in a different region at a different time to the rest of the Singosari style sculptures. Whereas the *arcā leluhur* is carved in a smooth and fine white andesite stone known as tuff, is of a very different texture and quality.

We will look at the relationship of east Java alongside the inter-regional trade at the time, which might aid in our understanding of how some of the textile patterns we see in this chapter arrived into east Java. The increased centralization as evident from the amount of royal rituals along with the relationship of the royalty to the ancestors and higher gods, was at the root of the spiritual prosperity of the Singhasāri dynasty. Much of the financial prosperity, however, was due to the increase in the trading networks, with the trade of Javanese rice and spices in return for foreign goods, which subsequently led to a financial boom (Tarling 1992:225). There appeared to be a wide distribution of Chinese ceramics in archaeological sites, and literary and epigraphic evidence of a monetized economy hinted at the availability of ‘foreign’ goods. This in turn led the indigenous population to grow more rice to increase their wealth, as a result of which Java became a centre of cross-cultural connections and international trade between Persia, China and the Indian world (Tarling: 226). From an analysis of the sculptures, this foreign impact appeared to have had a considerable influence on the visual culture of the sculptures in central and east Java.

The textile examples still in existence and originating from China and India from the 13th and 14th centuries are negligible. Of course what we do have are the stone sculptures, which remain as the ‘patterns’ from the past and as ‘hard and physical’ evidence of what was in current circulation at the time. What is unknown, however, are details about the textiles which were traded from India to Southeast Asia (Wisseman Christie 1991b:17-18, Barnes:114-117, Devare 2009:182). Let us assume then that it was the trade in Indian cottons which appeared to be in huge demand in Java, and imported over a long period of time as written in the Zhufanzhi.⁶⁹ The Indian merchants traded this cotton cloth via Southeast Asian ports on the way to China. In the history of the Song dynasty, it is mentioned that arriving envoys, possibly from somewhere in Sumatra, brought with them, among other things, Indian textiles.

⁶⁹ The Chinese also appeared to need cotton from India, such as white cotton, which was used for the uniforms of the soldiers who fought in the hot southern regions. This white cloth came to be known as *kanipha* in the Ming period, *bafta* in Thailand and *kain* in Malaysia. Devare, H. 2009. Cultural Implications of the Chola Maritime Fabric Trade. In *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa*, eds. H. Kulke, K. Kesavapany & V. Sakhuja, 178-193.:180

Appendix 4. Map 5. This appears to be the first mention of Indian textiles exported to Southeast Asia (Devare:180). Wisseman Christies posed a theory, that silk brocade cloth⁷⁰ was probably traded both in and out of China (Wolters 1999:21). It is hard to substantiate what was being represented, as we have no extant evidence apart from the stone patterns to indicate what techniques were used to make the cloth.

As we have suggested earlier, cash was needed for the Chinese trade. The Chinese merchants were known to smuggle out of China vast quantities of copper cash needed for



Fig. 3.1 Chinese copper coins known as Ssu Shu" or 4 Shu

bartering. The copper coins used at the time, were similar to these round coins with square centres, known as Ssu Shu" (or 4 Shu). This type of coin was issued during the Song Dynasty⁷¹ (Fig. 3.1). In the Zhufanzhi, the term Sung-shī is used to describe "strings of copper cash" which were "scattered abroad" (Hirth and Rockhill 1965:81, note 40).⁷²

However none of the Song government legislation had much effect on the continuing trade to Java, which resulted in the almost total drainage of the copper

coinage that belonged to the Song until the end of their rule (Wheatley 1959 June:38). Sen suggests that at the heart of the 13th century world system were the Chinese markets (Sen 2003:200), which included the extensive Indian Ocean trade during the Song and Yuan periods (Sen:160). It might be that this trade influenced some of the textile patterns on the sculptures

⁷⁰ Wisseman Christie states that some of the Javanese textiles identified by the Chinese as brocade, were in actual fact probably embroidery work known as *songket*, and weft ikat in silk. (Wolters 1999):21. This is partially incorrect as *songket* is in fact a type of brocade, as the cloth is woven with a gold thread to create the supplementary weft pattern. The appearance of the resulting cloth has a three dimensional effect from the weave of the gold thread and it is in our opinion that a number of the textiles on the Singosari sculptures are carved replicating a *songket* pattern, such as that of Nandīśvara, Durgā and the attendants of Amoghapāśa. Further details in Chapter 5.

⁷¹ <http://www.calgarycoin.com/reference/china/chinaid2.htm>

⁷² As a consequence in the year 1182 an Edict was issued by the local authorities for the making the exportation of copper cash unlawful Hirth, F. & W. W. Rockhill. 1965. *Chao Ju-kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled 'Chu-fan-chi'*. Taiwan: Literature House Ltd. In 1216:81 note 45, it was reported that since the edict had been ignored by the traders and the by local authorities themselves, a complete prohibition of the exportation of cash by ocean going ships to Java was issued. As a result the Song government urged traders to establish trading stations in the borders, where such products as silks, brocades, chiffons, porcelain and lacquer could be exchanged for the aromatics from the southern islands *ibid.*⁷⁸

and possibly the reliefs on the architecture which depict Chinese inspired patterns, as seen in the cloud motifs carved in the relief patterns on the walls of Caṇḍi Kidā, 1269 (Kinney 2003:89). We can but suggest that Javanese designs merged with these new decorative patterns, as Woodward stated in referring to the Javanese designs, that they were a “local response to the imported object” (Woodward 1977:233).

The classification parameters of ‘Kaḍiri’, highlight the different stone and general style of the carving, in the ‘Singosari’ the details of the jewellery, the depiction of the various forms of the dress including the wearing of the jacket and the depiction of lotus plant decoration,⁷³ also the posture and physiognomy of the body are very specific to this style. The very detailed and varied textile patterns, each one unique, and the evidence of skull and *kāla*-head textile patterns. The Transition classification reflects the upright posture, the position of the lower two arms, the depiction of the *upavīta* and the often exaggerated carving of the ornaments, however the textile patterns appear to all differ. Sedyawati suggests that the interpretation of data such as the ‘style’ categories we present here, and her subsequent analysis:

“The interpretation of data, is based not only on written sources, but also - and most importantly - on examination and analysis of the artefacts themselves” (Sedyawati 1994:2)

Lunsingh Scheurleer suggests that:

“the stance of the body always exhibits some movement, the legs show through the loincloth, the headdress consists of layers, the jewellery is simpler and worn sparingly, and the flanking lotus plants grow from the bulbous roots”.... “clothing, ornaments and hair braids compare well with those of the Caṇḍi Jago statues, as do the flanking lotus plants depicted with their bulbous roots” (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008:289).

She also suggests that “form” is the most important factor, however in determining east Javanese stone sculpture, decoration “predominates over form” (Lunsingh Scheurleer

⁷³ Bernet Kempers has described the lotus plant decoration as a ‘dynastic emblem’ (Bernet Kempers 1959):83. Stutterheim wrote in 1932 explaining the differences in the form the lotus took in all three east Javanese dynastic periods. For example, the Kaḍiri period sculptures had no depiction of a lotus plant, the following Singhasāri period showed the lotus plant at either side of the central figure, and by the Majapahit period the lotus plant was depicted growing from a pot at each side of the figure. (Stutterheim 1932):47. Since this statement by Stutterheim all art history books on east Java have used this typology of the lotus plant to place sculptures into a dynastic ‘box’

1988:25). We agree with this statement and will in this thesis be more concerned with decoration in the form of textile patterns than in the form of the sculpture itself.

On careful personal study of each sculpture, it is clear each figure is depicted with a unique type of pattern and dress, with no apparent difference in the type of textile patterns between the religious affiliation and the gender of the statues. However, while this is largely true, there is a small departure from this fact as is evident with the sculptures from Caṇḍi A at Singosari. Fontein describes the Tantric Buddhist *Kalacakra* cult which probably arrived via a monastery at Nālandā in eastern India, where Buddhism flourished in the 11th and 12th centuries.⁷⁴ This cult was supposed to have gained powerful followers during the Singhasāri period especially during the last stages of Kṛtanāgara's reign (Fontein 1990:50). The depiction of so called Tantric iconography in the form of skulls is apparent in a number of the textile patterns in Java and one sculpture from Sumatra. Lunsingh Scheurleer suggests that a skull is a "tantric attribute" and that Gaṇeśa was integrated into Javanese tantrism at the time of King Kṛtanāgara (Lunsingh Scheurleer Juni 1998:8).

We have advocated that the 'Singosari' Style as described in this thesis possibly began on the 31st of October 1269 with the issue of the *Charter of Sarwadharma*, the first known inscription issued by King Kṛtanāgara (Sidomulyo 2010:17, Krom 1926:464).

⁷⁴ The strategic location of Bengal which became the crossroads between the Indian subcontinent, not only with the mainland of Southeast Asia but with Insular Southeast Asia as well. It became a place of convergence of all types of Buddhist monks. Bihar or the old Magadha was considered the source of 'esoteric' iconography which was noted in the lands of the Southern Seas. Bengal was at the convergence of Assam and Yunnan, Bagan and Arakan, Odisha, Bihar and Nepal and Tibet in the north, a place of transition from and to all parts of Asia. (Summerfield, A. & J. Summerfield. 1999. *Walk In Splendor: Ceremonial Dress and the Minangkabau*. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History. :164-165. As result of this transference of Buddhism and Buddhist ideas which converged at Bengal and Bihar and subsequently travelled with the monks to Java. We advocate that it is highly likely that so many of the textile designs which came to Java over time, either the actual cloth itself, or as patterns in the minds of the travellers, to eventually be transferred to the new sculptures at Singosari. This was how the resurgence of Bengal Buddhism came to Java.

3.1 Group 1, Early Kaḍiri and Singhasāri *Kawung* Patterns

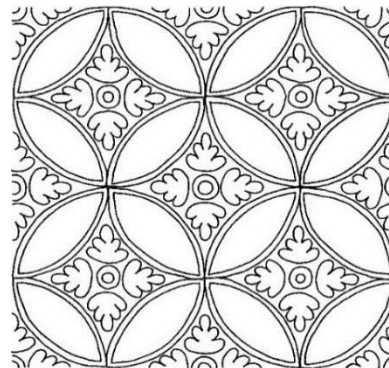
The andesite stone this Gaṇeśa Cat. 38 is carved with appears to rough with a coarse finish. The *sinjang* is clearly carved with a *kawung* pattern (Fig. 3.3) and held up with a woven sash, a fairly typical Singosari feature. The sash is shown folded at the rear of the statue into a large knot. We would argue that this *kawung* pattern is the first instance of this ubiquitous Javanese pattern in a simple arrangement. The sash which noticeably drapes in two sections



Fig. 3.3 E.38, Boro Gaṇeśa Desa Boro, Jimbe, Blitar, East Java,



Fig. 3.2 Detail of the rear of the body depicting the body ornaments and textile pattern. Drawing of the textile pattern



over the front legs at different lengths, is woven with a design which we suggest could meant to be reflecting a type of gold or silk thread, the edges carved in a looped design perhaps indicating a series of looped gimp or metal threads. The pattern of the sash indicates a triangular woven design which overlaps each other ending with the tassel decorated with a skull (Fig. 3.4). Pott has suggested this 'skull motif' may well be an optical illusion as it does not appear on the other side (Pott 1962:125). On closer observation the other end of the sash is worn, so we would suggest that logically all patterns are uniform therefore there would have been a skull motif here as well.



Fig. 3.5 Detail of the sash depicting the skull *rumbai*

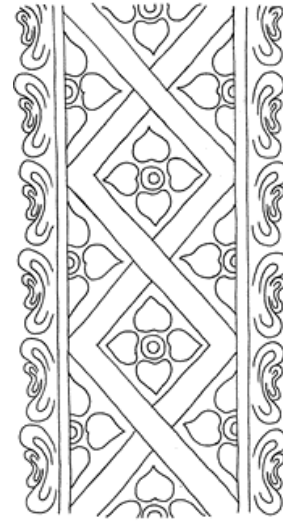


Fig. 3.4 Drawing of the sash textile pattern, indicating the braided border pattern.

The sarong is folded over the sash, which is evident as the *kawung* motif is visible at the rear of the body above the sash. The patterns of the *sinjang* are so deeply incised it is certainly suggestive of a luxurious cloth, perhaps a pattern made with gold leaf, such as *prada*, or a possibly a brocade woven cloth known as *songket*.⁷⁵ John Guy has suggested the Gaṇeśa is presented “wearing a prestigious imported Indian cloth”, this design he states later became known as an important pattern in Java’s batik repertoire (Guy 1998:62). While his suggestion is also certainly possible, we propose the cloth is more likely to represent a brocaded textile with gold or silk threads. In Totton’s opinion this fabric is “thickly brocaded, possibly with metallic threads” (Totton 2009:33).

⁷⁵ From the earliest records aristocrats in Southeast Asia both owned and wore gold cloth, but as no textiles remain the carvings of luxury fashion which appear to thickly brocaded, possibly with metallic threads, suggest these textiles were in vogue between the 8th and the 15th century. Obviously we cannot attest to the visual evidence actually representing metallic weaving, but from extant inscriptions found in early Java indicated that prestige textiles valued in their weight of gold have been recorded. Totton, M.-L. 2009. *Wearing Wealth and Styling Identity: Tapis from Lamung, South Sumatra*. Hanover, NH: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth Art College.:33 and footnote 48

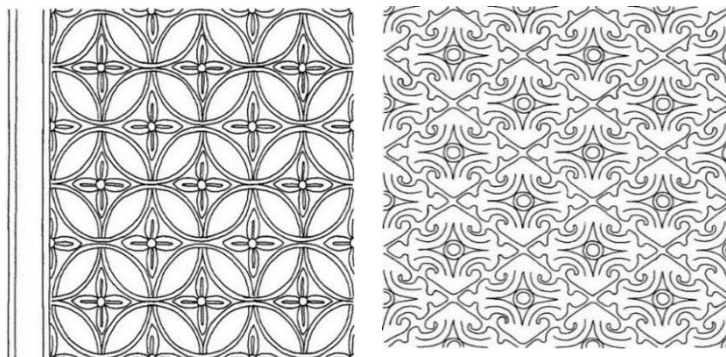
This figure of Śiva is made from a relatively pale and smooth andesite stone, Cat. 39 (Fig. 3.7). He is adorned with a long cloth belt around the waist and the *upavīta* gives the impression of a fabric carved in three dimension in high relief, it resembles a twisted strand of five strings of pearls draped over the knees with an intricate and large jewelled clasp, a



Fig. 3.7 Cat.39. Śiva and King Anuspati, TM, Amsterdam



Fig. 3.6 Depiction of the lower limbs, indicating the patterned sash the metal belt with a large elaborate buckle. Below, drawing of the textile pattern of the sash right and *sinjang* left.



rather more typical Singosari feature. It is apparent that the statue is wearing two cloths indicated by a line just discernible below the knees. The plain *sinjang* falls to the ground, over which hangs a shorter cloth, carved with a simplified *kawung* motif. Perhaps a regional artistic

style was applied to the unusual dress of Śiva, specifically the double patterned sash.⁷⁶ This unusual pattern, the drawing depicted here (Fig. 3.6), is deeply incised with triangular motif with a vegetal pattern in the four quarters. The sash is tied in large knots, one end onto the back slab just visible, the other falls the length of the body in many delicate folds, with the pattern visible, it could possibly be carved to represent a brocaded fabric, which we deduce from the complexity of the design. The *kawung* motif in this instance is closer to the Majapahit rendition of this pattern as seen in later Catalogue numbers.

The next three sculptures originated from Caṇḍi Jago, Cat. 40- Cat.44. The structure resembles a three tiered 'Temple Mountain' rather than a symmetrical tall structure which is distinctly different from that of the remaining Singhasāri caṇḍi. The three terraces recede as one proceeds to the top where the central *cella* was based at the back of the temple.⁷⁷ The orientation is to the northwest with two sets of double staircases leading to the top, surrounding the three terraces are reliefs of stories all related to Kingship (Kinney 2003:97).

3.2 Group 2. The so called '*Balah Kacang*' pattern

The statues of Cat. 40 to Cat. 42 (Fig. 3.9) are decorated with delicately carved ornaments, including a tall conical jewelled headdress with ribbons faintly incised on the backslab, some larger than the other, and finished with a border pattern indicating the ribbon is representing a textile or fabric. The *sinjang* on all three statues falls the length of the body with a delicate pleat at the front, and the cloth reveals the shape of the body beneath. The pattern is made up of four elliptical petals along the centre of which is a narrow oval (Fig. 3.8). The ellipses are joined at the points to make a square, as suggested by Reichle, one of the combinations of the *kawung* pattern group,⁷⁸ however this pattern is best described as *balah kacang*.⁷⁹ Bart, an architect and weaving specialist, has described this pattern as the

⁷⁶ The line drawing of the *sash* has not been seen or analysed before and remains unique to this sculpture

⁷⁷ Hadi Sidomulyo has spent many years studying east Javanese temple architecture and Mount Penanggungan, and states in conversation that all mountain temples are made up of three terraces with a platform at the top, part of the concept of four and nine, (nine peaks at Pēnanggungan).

⁷⁸ Reichle has called the pattern *kawung*. (Reichle, N. 2007. *Violence and Serenity, late Buddhist Sculpture from Indonesia*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.:94 However from a recent article by Bernhard Bart, he states these patterns are definitely not representing the *kawung* motif but a pattern called *balah kacang* (Bart April 2016):17

⁷⁹ The pattern called *balah kacang* is primarily known today in the Minangkabau highlands, it is entirely possible that Ādityavarman brought the motif with him from these three Buddhist deities to his Malayu kingdom

most complex and one which is not possible to draw free-hand, therefore it has to be constructed using a sophisticated loom. He states this does not represent a *kawung* pattern but more likely the *balah kacang* pattern,⁸⁰ today made in the *songket* technique and originates from Minangkabau in Sumatra, examples in Appendix 3. Plate 15. This type of patterning evokes a particular similarity in the style of these three sculptures. It is possible that the stone patterns were made to replicate an earlier version of this *songket* (Bart April 2016:12-13). Bart suggested that the pattern did not gain in popularity because it was too complicated to draw. This is why he suggests it continued in Minangkabau *songket* weaving but not in Javanese batik patterns.

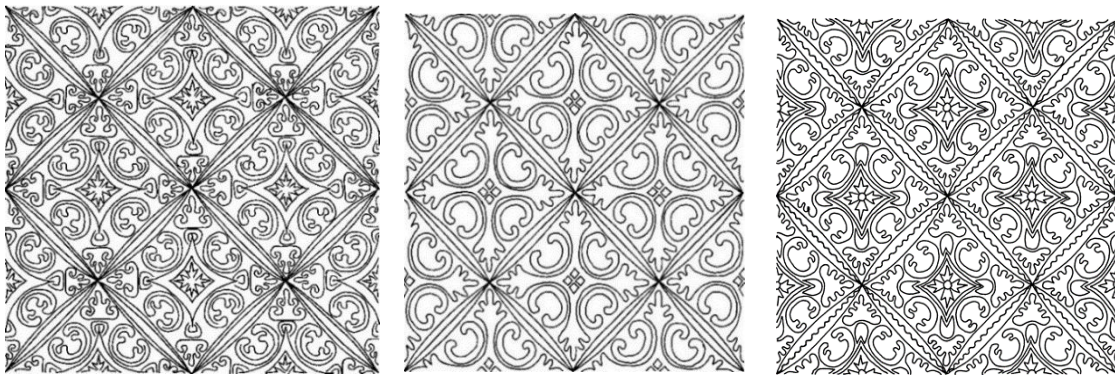


Fig. 3.8 Drawing of textile patterns, from the left Cat. 40 to 42

According to Bart, the patterns are carved with a consummate skill, complex and difficult to weave (Bart:17), and as a result of Bart's analysis we propose the textile patterns could well have been a response to some kind of luxurious cloth that was available at the time. As stated by Maxwell, the exact nature of these textiles is unclear, but in our opinion the sculptures from the Hindu-Buddhist temples reflect the past and represent a legacy of the textile traditions at the time (Bautze-Picron 1993:192).

in Sumatra. Which he subsequently moved from Dharmasarya to Pagaruyung after the Javanese proved to be interfering hence the patterns must have moved with him. This pattern and the motif on the sash of the Bhairava S.4 are both known today in the repertoire of the Minangkabau songket. Bernhard Bart is a weaver in Minangkabau and has completed research in the geometry of the *kawung* and *balah kacang* motifs, he has created modern *songket* to replicate exactly this pattern, the basic differences between the two textiles is the *kawung* consists of five circles whereas the *balah kacang* consists of eight circles. Bart, B. April 2016. Textile Patterns on Stone Sculptures and in Songket Weaving. In *Textiles Asia*, 12-20. New York.:17

⁸⁰ The *balah kacang* motif is one of the typical examples of Minangkabau motifs from ceremonial textiles. Summerfield, J. A. 1999. *Walk In Splendor: Ceremonial Dress and the Minangkabau*. Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History.:181



Fig. 3.9 Details of Lower legs of Cat. 40 to 42

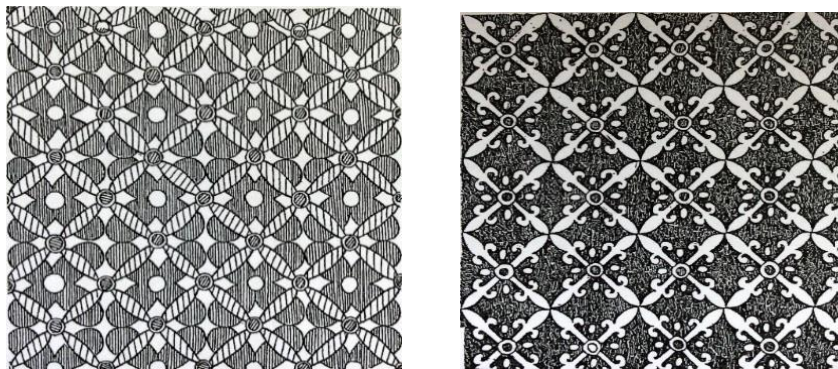


Fig. 3.10 Details of murals at Panjikent Temple 1, depict examples of Central Asian textiles from the late 7th century. Image from Raspopova 2006

Songket textiles are still woven today with patterns seen in Appendix 3, Plate 15, many of which originate from the ancient village of Pitalah in Minangkabau in west Sumatra. These textiles and any number like them have been made since at least the 1700's as demanded by the strong *adat*⁸¹ Muslim traditions of the local people. This type of geometric patterning is also depicted in the sash of Cat. 52.⁸²

⁸¹ *Adat* to the Minang people means a way of life, the code of ethics to which they run their lives along with Muslim religious practices, often known as 'we are the people of *adat*'. (ibid.)

⁸² This might indicate that these motifs were the beginning of Minangkabau textile tradition. If we consider the background of Prince Ādityavarman, who had himself deified in the statue of Bhairava not in the MNI. Ādityavarman was half from Javanese and half from Sumatra, then it is quite possible to associate him with Minangkabau textiles.

These two textile examples from Panjikent date to the 7th century (Raspopova 2006:64) (Fig. 3.10) shows a remarkable similarity in the style and layout of the geometric patterning on the sculptures. Perhaps these 7th century Panjikent patterns and the textile patterns on the sculptures from Jago attest to the longevity and perhaps the popularity of this design, and illustrate the continuity of designs which are part of the inter-regional trade across the 'single ocean'.

3.3 Group 3. Roundels

The pattern on the rough andesite figure of Māmakī Cat. 43, depicts roundels on her *kain* which differs to the previous attendants. Considering this statue are all from the same caṇḍi, it is somewhat surprising the textile patterns and the stone differ to such an extreme. The *sinjang* finishes at the ankles, depicted with neat folds onto the lotus cushion (Fig. 3.11).



Fig. 3.11 Cat. 43. Māmakī, part of a set that represented the five Jinas and the female counterparts. BM, London. Detail of the lower legs and drawing of the textile pattern.

The now very faint pattern consists of concentric roundels with a double border, in which there is a simple pattern of four scallop shaped motifs around a central circle, with the interstices made up of four trefoil forms.

The smooth fine surface of this volcanic stone statue of Mañjuśrī Cat.44 differs considerably to the attendants of Amoghapāśa, even though they are all thought to have originated from Caṇḍi Jago, might indicate this and the other missing Jinas were made at a different time in a different workshop who had access to a lesser quality of stone.

The *sinjang* on the statue appears to be held with a metal belt tied around the waist depicted behind the folded ankles, here we see the *sinjang* finishes with delicate folds laying on the lotus cushion, the fine fabric clinging to the legs (Fig. 3.13). However the pattern of roundels in near perfect condition, is carved in deep relief which we might suggest indicated a sophisticated woven brocade fabric. This assumption we have made as this type of pattern



Fig. 3.13 Cat. 44. Mañjuśrī, SHM, St Petersburg



Fig. 3.12 Chalk drawing by J. Th. Bik in 1823 for Engelhard, of Mañjuśrī. The drawing from 1909, J.L.A. Brandes Pg. 81

could not have been made in Java at the time as there is no evidence the Javanese had access to a sophisticated 'draw' loom needed to create a pattern such as this.



Fig. 3.14 Detail of the lower legs depicting the textile and border pattern

The delicate and very unusual textile border pattern is carved along the lower edge and depicts pearl arches, candles and vegetal motifs (Fig. 3.14). The body has been softly modelled, carved with a number of unique features, such as the design on the *sinjang* and its border, and the sophisticated pattern representing a series of roundels with triple outer

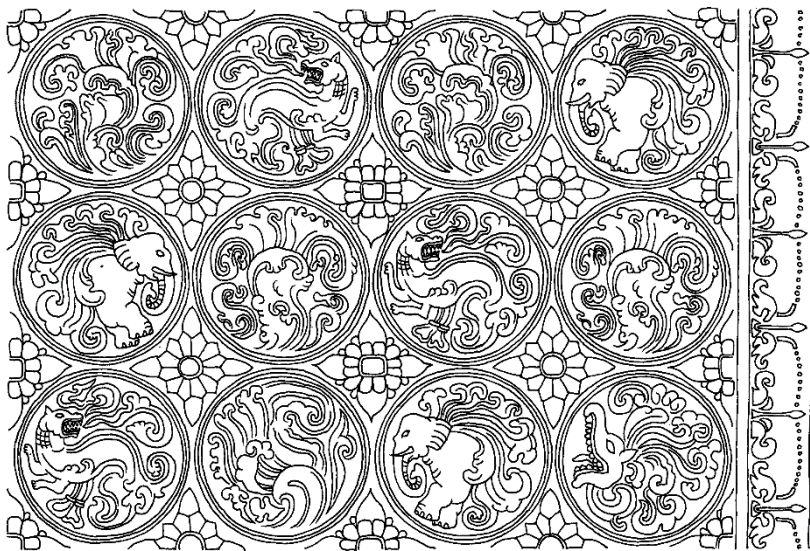


Fig. 3.15 Full drawing of the textile pattern on Cat. 44. Indicating the many repeated roundels.

bands.

The pattern represents juxtaposing circles in which the motifs represent three different animals both real and imagined. The animals appear to emerge from scrolling vegetation, each circle a little different. There are two different patterns of vegetal

designs, somewhat reminiscent of Chinese cloud or rock patterns perhaps, the design of the motifs are also reminiscent of the carved roundels at caṇḍi Lorong Jongorrang and at Caṇḍi Kidal (Fig. 3.19). These are described by Van der Hoop as the 'recalcitrant spiral' (Van Der

Hoop 1949:272), however what we see in these roundels is the leaf part of the spiral vine, the whole spiral is depicted on the temples mentioned in Central Java (Fig. 3.16). One roundel represents a clear and accurate depiction of an elephant, elephants were known in Java as they appear depicted in the relief panels at Caṇḍi Borobudur, in a number of fables which show the elephant as the future Buddha incarnated (Miksic 2010:94). However, none of the central Javanese depictions show the elephant in quite the same fashion as the roundel here. The second animal roundel shows a dragon or griffin looking backwards breathing forth fire

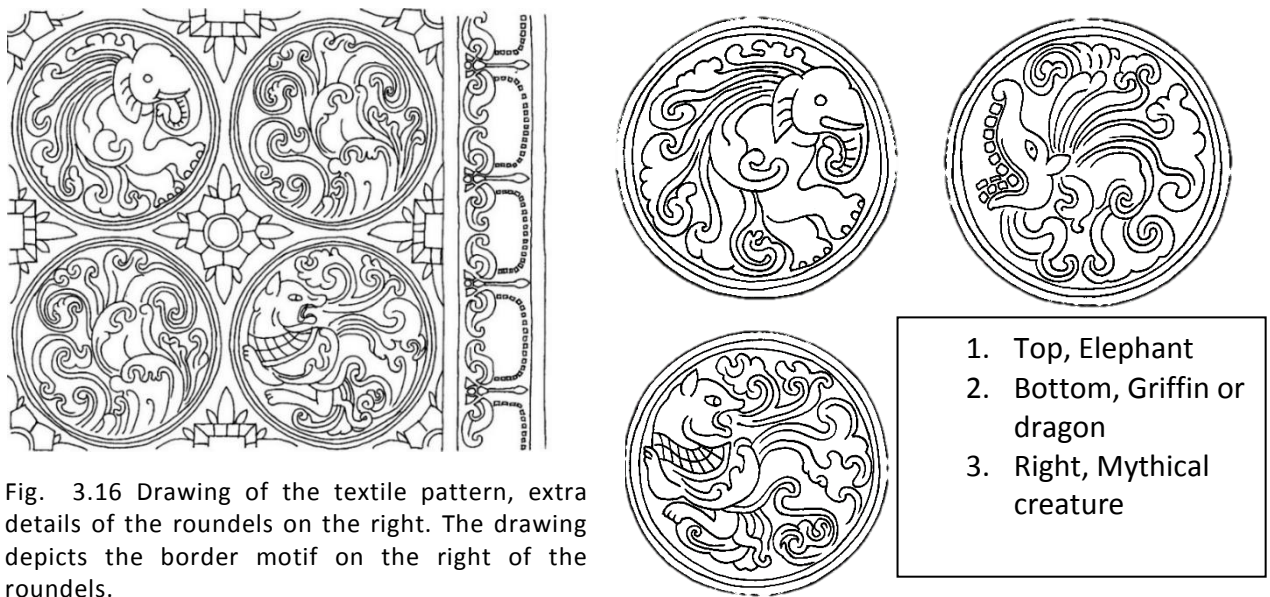


Fig. 3.16 Drawing of the textile pattern, extra details of the roundels on the right. The drawing depicts the border motif on the right of the roundels.

which curls into the roundel pattern,⁸³ and the third roundel shows a mythical creature with wide open jaw and large teeth, his body emanating out of the scrolling vegetation, this we suggest could represent the senmurv⁸⁴ (Fig. 3.18) or possibly a representation of a Makara⁸⁵,

⁸³ The image of a textile with phoenix, dragons and griffins within roundels is known in the Yüan period between 1279-1368. This period is contiguous with the carving of the Mañjuśrī in Java,

⁸⁴ The head is doglike, with open mouth displaying a forked tongue and a row of pointed teeth. The forelegs and paws are canine or feline, with sharp claws. The animal forepart then comes to an abrupt halt and the back half of the creature is a bird. Wings come from the shoulders and long slender feathers rise above the head. Finally a rich tail of double plumes curves out behind. The lion-griffin and the serpent-dragon are similar in many ways to the senmurv, but the feathered ending of the latter, the purely bird like termination of his body, is not to be found in any of the animal conglomerates known from the heart of the ancient Near East, Iraq, or Iran. The senmurv's wing is composed of short pointed feathers for the lower section and longer waving tendrils forming the outer section; usually the latter turn forward toward the neck rather than back toward the tail.

⁸⁵ The makara is a mythical creature in Sanskrit it means "water monster" or sea dragon". "The makara is a mythical creature associated with water. In Central Java, they often stood guard at temple entrances. This

however we suggest more likely a local Javanese interpretation of the mythical creatures depicted on an imported textile. Within the interstices of each circle is a triangular outline carved with two different designs, these delicately carved patterns placed around a centre circle surrounded by petals to make a flower, the second pattern, a square centre surrounded



Fig. 3.18 Detail of the textile pattern on the lower legs



Fig. 3.17 Right side of the body, depicts the large bow and long ends of the elaborate *sash*

by a square pattern (not visible here) (Fig. 3.16). Overlaying the *sinjang* is a plain double *sash*, carved with a simple pattern of lines and circles, the ends of which hang to the side of the body and tied in an overly large bow (Fig. 3.17).

example has the muzzle of a dragon, the trunk of an elephant and the horns of a ram. Seated on the tongue of its wide-open mouth is a lion". This description taken from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 3.19 Top, Relief roundels from Caṇḍi Kidal, Middle left, drawing from Mañjuśrī, right, fresco painting from Pagan, lower left Caṇḍi Kidal, right Caṇḍi Panataran

There are no known current Indonesian textiles which replicate this pattern. After extensive research into this sculpture, we propose and suggest this textile possibly originated from China with a Persian origin as seen from the motifs. Possibly a textile having arrived with traders from China or with Arab traders from Persia. Another such example is taken from the mural paintings at Pagan (Fig. 3.19) which also show a direct relationship to the influence of Pāla art in the 11th and 12th centuries,⁸⁶ a style which Mahler has discussed indicating how the influence of Pāla sculpture had a direct bearing on the Burmese temple paintings (Mahler 1958:40). There is absolutely no concrete evidence to attribute this textile pattern to Persia, except for the examples presented here, despite the few hundred years' difference in the dating, possibly examples or ideas of these patterns could have ended up in Java. Amy Heller describes the movement of designs by saying:

⁸⁶ Aciri describes one of the temples at Pagan dated to the late 11th century, which displays Tantric features which he suggests is as a result of the links and the martial relationships between the rulers of Pagan and those in Bengal. Aciri, A. 2015. Revisiting the Cult of Siva-Buddha in Java and Bali. In *Buddhist Dynamics in Premodern and Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. D. C. Lammerts, 261-281. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.:20

‘From Persia to China, medallions of single or confronting animals with a pearl roundel were among the most popular designs of the period. The creatures were frequently imaginary or hybrid birds or animals’ (Heller 1998:183).

Yaldiz has suggested that influences were felt from Gandhara to Sogdiana and to Xinjiang in China (Yaldiz 2006:94-95 Fig 61). Even though we have no examples from Tibet, Heller has suggested that whatever or wherever the inspiration was for this textile pattern on Cat.44 it is evident that in addition to mural paintings of textiles in Tibetan monasteries, made during the 10th to 12th centuries, the popularity in Tibet of Sasanian roundel motifs that enclose both animals and geometric forms remained long after their initial import (Heller 1998:175). Examples of animals in roundels are in Appendix 3, Plate 13.

This sculpture has two clearly visible inscriptions, on the front top and the rear of the backslab of the sculpture (Kozok and Reijn 2010:139-143). They were first translated by Bosch into Dutch (Bosch 1921) and then into English by Kozok and Reijn. The translation is given in the footnotes.⁸⁷ It is unknown from the existing structure at Caṇḍi Jago where exactly the figure of Mañjuśrī was placed,⁸⁸ with all the figures associated with the Amoghapāśa having been allocated positions in the upper levels of Caṇḍi Jago,

Lunsingh Scheurleer suggests this hypothesis:

“A Mañjuśrī statue is entitled to a separate shrine, the statue seems to be rather small for this large building. If at Caṇḍi Jago, it must have been housed in a separate shrine in the compound”(Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008:296).

We concur with this statement and the knowledge gained from Raffles, suggesting that Mañjuśrī would have been placed in a *cella* or niche on an elevated terrace about twelve feet tall (Raffles 1817:45 Vol 2) as the statue is set against a backplate, therefore a separate

⁸⁷ ‘He Ādityavarman in the realm ruled by her majesty the supreme queen, from her lineage, having true intentions, endowed with excellent qualities, the highest ranking servant of the state, on Javanese soil, in the city of the Buddha temple, built an amazingly beautiful temple, to guide his parents and kin from the sublunary existence to the joys of nirvana’ Kozok, U. & v. Reijn (2010) Adityavarman: Three Inscriptions of the Sumatran 'King of all Kings'. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 38, 135-158. :139. Kozok and Reijn have suggested that as the inscription was written in Sanskrit it is perhaps another indication of the patronage of Ādityavarman. However, it is rather ambiguous from the translation. Ādityavarman built Caṇḍi Jago to guide his parents and kin from this existence to Nirvana, however one of his kin was the queen in whose service he was employed.

⁸⁸ Raffles describes at a short distance from Jago, stands the remains of an elevated terrace approximately 12 feet tall, with an image of a man, peculiar by the way his hair is tied. Raffles, S. S. 1817. *The History of Java*. London: Black, Parbury and Allen. : 45, Vol 2. This is evidently Mañjuśrī, but the structure has now disappeared.

shrine or platform would seem to be appropriate. Various historical sources inform us that most of the highest honorary positions were filled by the king's relatives (Kozok and Reijn 2010:141). In 1343 Ādityavarman orders the building of a 'amazingly beautiful temple', to house the beautiful statue of Mañjuśrī according to the rules to foster the Dharma (the Law and true faith in the Buddhist sense) (ibid. 143, Schnitger 1937:9).

However, we do not really know if the statue was meant to be placed at Caṇḍi Jago, or in its own pavilion, as there appear to be two completely different dedications (ibid. 143).⁸⁹ The sculpture was dedicated in memory of the year Ādityavarman spent at court in east Java,⁹⁰ but the figure was probably carved sometime after the building of Caṇḍi Jago in 1260 and before the dedications in the inscriptions of 1343, therefore we suggest a dating not related to the temple at Jago, but rather by his stylistic features, placing him closer to the earlier 1260 to 1280 date rather than the later date of the inscription. We base this on stylistic reasons as the statues fits more closely with the attendants of Amoghapāśa, which have been dated to 1280 (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008:296). Cat. 44 displays the most unusual textile pattern which tells us so clearly of an earlier period in Asian history.

In contrast the grey andesite statue of Pārvatī and her retinue Cat.45 stands stiff and upright with two damaged upper hands, the lower hands are together possibly holding the *padma* or lotus bud in *dhyānamudrā*, a gesture of meditation. The belt or girdle displays a *kāla*-head buckle, from which pearl chains fall on the *sinjang*. The *sinjang* depicted in the Javanese style falls the length of the body with a detailed fold at the front with the lower edge appearing to undulate, which suggests a large amount of fabric, and the shape of her body is only just evident beneath the fabric. The surface of the stone is clearly exfoliated, leaving the pattern visible only on the centre panel where the roundels with double borders and the interstices pattern is clearly visible, but only partially evident on the left side (Fig. 3.20). Our interpretation of this complex pattern would suggest a motif of juxtaposing circles with double outer rings in which appear to be depicted zoomorphic figures. The only drawing

⁸⁹ Deshpande refers to Friederich who wrote in 1863, stating that clearly the inscriptions were written in a different hand at a different time. Deshpande, O. 2016. *Works of Art From Southeast ASia*. St Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers.:Fig no 336

⁹⁰ Ādityavarman, this Sumatran prince who later became King Ādityavarman (r. c. 1347-1379) returned to Sumatra and set up court in the Tanah Datar region of west Sumatra and became the spiritual father of the Kingdom of Minangkabau.

which is distinguishable is of a small duck, and part remains of a possible four-legged animal perhaps a deer. Along the lower edge of the *kain* the border is precisely carved with horizontal bands in a 'tear drop' pattern. The double *sash* is plain and drapes over the thighs, the ends arranged in neat folds at the sides of the body. The *sash* is tied in an overly large bow, the neck decorated with a metal band. One point deserves mentioning is the depiction



Fig. 3.20 Cat.45. Statue of Parvati retinue. Caṇḍi Singosari. Right, detail of the *sinjang*, below, detail of the textile pattern on lower left leg and drawing of the textile pattern.



of the 'fall' of the cloth, as it is apparent the sculptor carved this statue with consummate skill, understanding the folds and arrangement of the garment.

The textile examples presented here range in date from the 6th to 11th centuries. On careful and extensive study of textiles and paintings from India, Central Asia, Burma and China, suggestions can be made that there appear to be a number of examples which fit closely to the pattern on Cat.45, however it has not been possible to find an exact match. This undoubtedly indicates that the sculptor of this unique pattern did not use a Javanese textile, but rather those from central Asia or China⁹¹ (Fig. 3.21). The delineation of a fowl within a roundel pattern, either woven in silk or block printed on cotton appear on many different textiles and wall painting. Textiles have for millennia been part of a tradition of gift giving and tribute and carried by traders to foreign lands.⁹²



Fig. 3.21 Left, Indian cotton fragment 12th -14th century, inv.no.1990.804 ©Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. Right, detail from the Kalpasutra 1375-1400, Prince of Wales Museum, Mumbai.

⁹¹ In conversation with Anna Contadini at SOAS- Sassanian designs of the 5th to 6th century, moved west, to Tibet then the Arab world and to Java via Indian and Arab traders. (Jan 2016) Ruth Barnes discusses the early trade of Indian textiles, she states, that from as early as the 5th century according to a Chinese document an Indonesian diplomatic mission carried textiles from India and Gandhara to China. All this actually indicates that textiles from northeast India were available in Indonesia at this time. Barnes, R. 1997b. *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.: 110. As we have previously discussed in Chapter 4, it is evident that Indian textiles were available in Java from at least the 8th century as the statues prove a positive source of evidence. In conversation with Dr Regula Shorta at the Abegg Stiftung, who suggested the patterns are 'stylised', an artist's depiction of a real cloth to make it more elaborate or suitable for the local taste. We agree this is quite possible, but these clear similarities tell us that textiles or ideas such as the examples given here must have been a template of some sort, otherwise why would there only be one sculpture with this particular pattern.

⁹² The idea that woven silk textiles were made in India and traded to Tibet and central Asia, the resulting fabric often used as a form of gift giving where silk textiles used. This was discussed by Rosemary Crill in a conference on Assam at the British Museum on 8 July 2016. Rosemary's paper was titled Trans Himalayan Textiles: Indian woven Silks in Tibet



Fig. 3.22 Central Asia and India, 6th-7th century, examples of a fowl in either wall paintings, textiles or stone.

From top left, Ajanta Cave 1, after Yaldiz, silk fragment from Astana 6th century, after Bivar. China, Fresco painting, Gubyauk Gyi, 1113, Pagan.

From bottom left, textile fragment, inv.no.4902 Abegg Stiftung, King's garments, rock carving Taq-i Bustan, and a textile fragment from Taq-i Bustan, after Otavsky

Even though the duck or *hamsa* with a feathered head such as depicted in the roundel on Parvati, is not apparent on any Sasanian or Chinese examples that we have been able to access, the concept of a duck and other animals in roundels is clearly apparent from Indian Central Asia (Fig. 3.22). The most obvious comparison is with the Ajanta paintings and the Taq-i Bustan rock carvings. The next group of examples from India also depict the duck as a pattern on Indian block printed cottons. There is a certain similarity in a number of the examples presented here, to the duck motif on Cat. 45.

The *kāla*-head clasp, the depiction of the sash and the pattern of animal roundels on the *sinjang*, these all signal a closer similarity to the Singosari style classification. The textile pattern is clearly closer to the variety of designs found in the Singosari period, as the core Majapahit sculptures all appear with a variation of the *kawung* motif. Therefore we suggest that this sculpture should be part of this transition classification.

The remains of the lotus plant appear on each side of the accompanying acolytes who stand in *añjalimudra*, both adorned in a similar style to the central figure but without the *kāla*-head belt. However there does appear to be a faint marking of a similar textile pattern, but due to the extreme wear of the stone this is only apparent on careful close inspection, but it is not detailed enough to replicate with a drawing

3.4 Group 4. Complex ‘Brocade’ and Skull Motifs

The Tantu Panggelaran, a late east Javanese text from the 16th century, mentions the group of gods in a Śaiva temple (www.singosari.info). Lunsingh Scheurleer describes that throughout the Classical Period Śaivite temples were built (Lunsingh Scheurleer Juni 1998:3-4) which included sculptures such as the following Cat. Nos. 46 to 50.

The smooth pale grey stone of sculpture of Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī Cat. 46 stands with legs wide apart and knees slightly bent astride the buffalo demon *Mahiśa*, Fontein describes this stance as “dramatic and defiant” (Fontein 1990:158). The goddess is decorated with elaborately carved ornaments, the top two levels are inset with a motif of the large skull with teeth which appear to bite into the crescent moon. Her body has a fleshy naturalism with a soft swelling belly, a new phenomenon in Javanese sculpture. She is adorned with a double necklet, large upper arm bands and bracelets (Fig. 3.23).



Fig. 3.23 Cat. 46. Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī RMV, Leiden



Fig. 3.25 Detail of the upper body, depicts the snake *upavita* connected on the top of the *sinjang*, she wears an elaborate *udharabhandha*

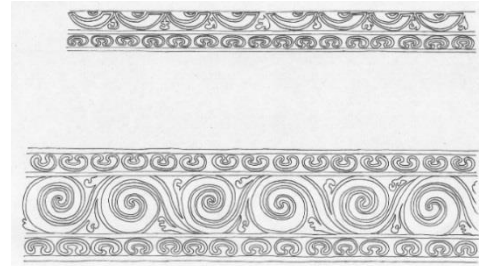


Fig. 3.24 Above, details of the *kāpala* relief pattern on Caṇḍi Kidal, below, drawing of the pattern from Kidal.

Her abundant jewellery also consists of snake ornaments at the ankles, the *upavita* is carved in the image of a thick snake and falls to the multiple belts on her belly (Fig. 3.25), where the head and tail of the snake are depicted coming together. She is clad in a decorated and patterned jacket carved with a pattern (Fig. 3.26) which consists of a stylised lotus flower motif and a rosette. The flower pattern of rounded and pointed petals and a triangular vegetal pattern fills the interstices between the circles.⁹³ The top and lower border pattern of the jacket consists of a series of a small motifs which could be interpreted as a cross section of

⁹³ It is perhaps interesting to note that Raffles's drawing of the Durgā indicates she originated from Prambanan, see Raffles Vol 2 Page. 55. The drawing of Durgā does not in our opinion correctly reflect the textile patterns, as it does not depict the small skull motifs in the *sinjang*, nor does it show the two different pattern on her jacket and upper skirt.

the *kāpala*,⁹⁴ (Fig. 3.26) a motif which also appears on the upper walls of Caṇḍi Kidal c.1260⁹⁵ (Fig. 3.24).



Fig. 3.27 Persimmon and the equivalent pattern created in Malay *songket*. Kuala Terengganu, Malaysia

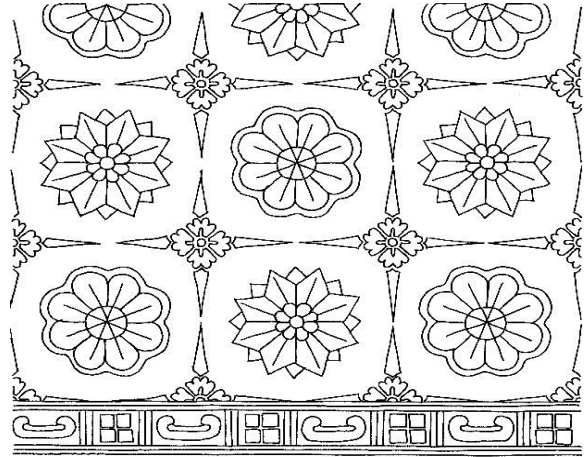


Fig. 3.26 Drawing of the textile pattern on the jacket.

The persimmon motif taken from this present day Malay *songket* (Fig. 3.27), shows a certain similarity in the structure of the jacket pattern, this we suggest highlights the longevity of this type of weave and patterning. The elaborately decorated dress reveals the shape of the body beneath consisting of two cloths, the lower *sinjang* and a shorter over cloth. The *sinjang* is carved with a lotus flower motif set within a geometric scheme known as *rantai*, another motif which is reflected in present day Malay textile pattern in *songket* (Pullen March

⁹⁴ The *kāpala* is the Sanskrit word for skull. The skull cup is a human skull used as a ritual implement, Potts uses the term 'brainpan', to describe the object held in the hand of the Gaṇeśa during the Singhasāri period, which he terms as a 'demonic feature'. Pott, P. H. 1962. Four Demonic Ganesa from East Java. In *Mededelingen Van Her Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden*, 123-131. Leiden: E.J.Brill.: 131. We have argued for this pattern to represent the *kāpala*, because if you were to take a cross-section through the full bowl or *kāpala*, this is the resulting shape.

⁹⁵ Caṇḍi Kidal was built as a *śrāddha* temple for King Anuspati in 1260, during the early reign of Kṛtanagara. The Caṇḍi has many *kāla*-head depicted over the cella and the panel of *kāpala* cup relief circles the entire building. This would indicate that by this early stage in Kṛtanagara's reign he was already leaning toward the extremes of Tantrism. The term '*kāpala* motif' will be used for the motif which runs around the upper levels of Caṇḍi Kidal. The same shape is clearly evident on the border of some of the textiles of a number of the Singosari sculptures, the description is of our own making. The evidence of this pattern on the walls of Kidal is the first such instance of this pattern, until it appears in the textile patterns on the sculptures.

2013:12). The alternant motif recalls a stylised pattern of a head carved upside down⁹⁶ (Fig. 3.29). The shorter cloth in this instance is carved with a similar pattern as the jacket, both cloths are decorated with a border design incorporating the *kapāla* pattern interspersed with four small squares within vertical bands. This interpretation of the textile pattern is subjective with the use of the term *kāpala* as a means of describing the border pattern (Fig. 3.28). The lower body garment is held up with a plain cloth belt, the ends drape onto the thighs, with the elaborately carved tassel suggestive of gold work decoration. The dress is completed with two sashes draped over her thighs carved with a *bunga bintang* or star motif, a motif that



Fig. 3.29 Detail of the lower right leg depicting the two textiles, the upper cloth and the lower *sinjang*.

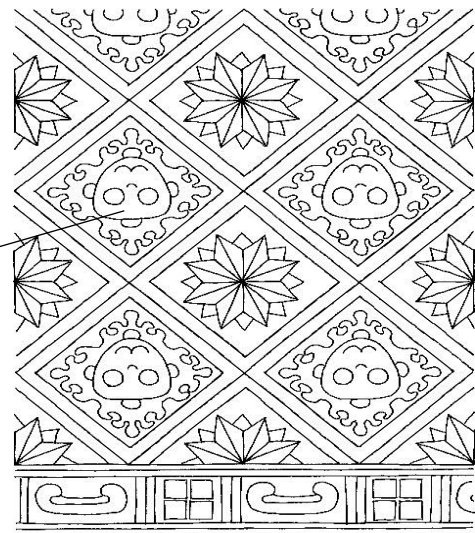


Fig. 3.28 Drawing of the textile pattern on the *sinjang*. The border shows the *kāpala* pattern, and the main cloth the star shaped *songket* motif and upside down severed heads.

continues today in Malay *songket* designs (Fig. 3.31). The ends of the sash are tied at each side in a large soft bow.

⁹⁶ The addition of the head motif carved upside down, is not random, but is apparent this way all over the cloth, however we cannot account for the fact the heads are carved upside down, except to please Durgā herself perhaps.

The precision with which the textiles are carved is unlikely to have been in our opinion an invention of the sculptor's imagination. It could be that the pattern was meant to replicate a pre-existing cloth.⁹⁷ The delineation of stars and rosettes set within chains is reflected in *songket limar* or weft *ikat* textiles from the Malay textile tradition. There are also noteworthy parallels with a number of the batik Kraton at the Danar Hadi, Galerie Batik Kuno in Surakarta. These suggested parallels might indicate the longevity of these patterns. Suggested comparisons are in Appendix 3. Plate 14, 15 and 17.



Fig. 3.32 Lower body depicts the patterned sash laying across the thighs

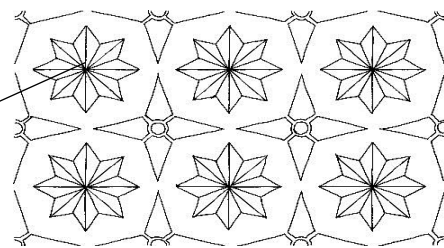


Fig. 3.31 Drawing of the textile pattern of the sash

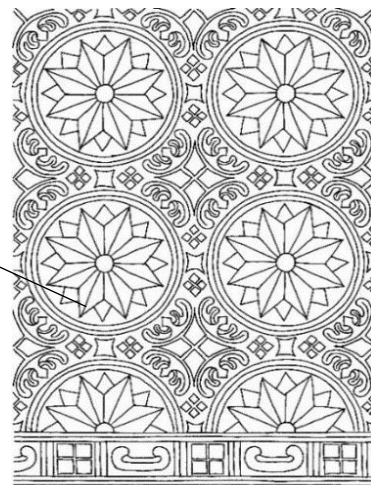


Fig. 3.30 Drawing of the textile pattern on the kendir

⁹⁷ In conversation with Asti Suryo Astuti at the Danar Hadi Textile Gallery, Surakarta, May 2016, she conferred with my theory that the sculptor would have certainly have taken the pattern from a cloth he has seen, it was not a figment of his imagination. This theory applies to all the textiles depicted here at Singosari.

The pale grey stone of this figure Nandīśvara Cat.47, is of a similar quality as that of Cat.46 and of the following Cat.48. We see Nandīśvara as Śiva's benign door guardian as the principle form of Śiva (Blom 1939:51), carved standing to attention as would a guardian, in an upright position with feet together (Fig. 3.33).

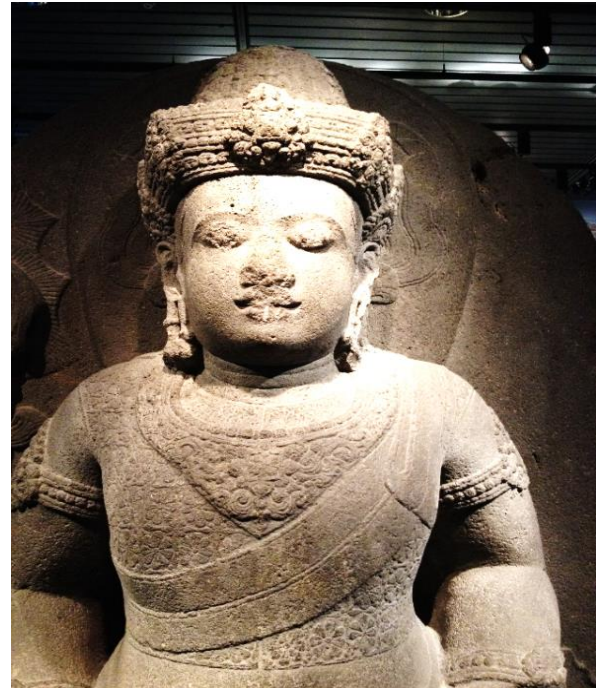


Fig. 3.33 at. 47. Nandīśvara, RMV, Leiden. Detail of Upper body, showing the large neck ornament, *seléndang* and patterned jacket

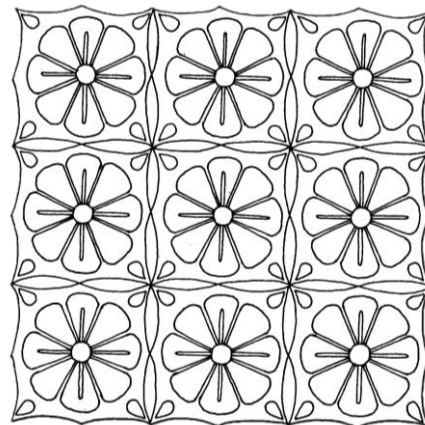


Fig. 3.34 *Kain songket*, Palembang 1920's, Pullen Collection. Drawing of the textile pattern on the jacket.

A broad plain *seléndang* drapes across the chest, marked with a single line through the middle, the end depicted over the left breast. We would suggest that the depiction of the carving of the garments is by a similar hand as Cat. 46-50. This figure appears to wear two forms of dress, first, the jacket with no sleeves delineated with a central line, the interpretation of this pattern we suggest, represents an eight petal ‘daisy’ flower, set within horizontal and vertical *rantai* or chains. The stylistic grammar presented by this pattern is reflected in a popular motif depicted in Malay *songket* textiles, known as *bunga kemunting Cina* (Chinese rose myrtle) (Inpam Selvanayagam 1990:189-190) (Fig. 3.34). The term *bunga teluk berantai* or motif in chained bays also describes the overall pattern (Inpam Selvanayagam:144). This striking pattern has been in existence since the early 20th century,



Fig. 3.35 Mangosteen fruit and an imitation motif, *bunga buah manggis*



Fig. 3.36 *Kain limar telepuk prada*, Islamic Arts Museum. Kuala Lumpur

the *songket*,⁹⁸ shares a close affinity to that on this sculpture. The 1920's *songket* is identical, and appears to be somewhat striking in its similarity to this 13th century stone pattern. It might be that what we see here the earliest evidence that this kind of textile construction was possible in east Java. The mangosteen and its imitation motif (Inpam Selvanayagam 1990:77) (Fig. 3.35) we also attribute as being the likely influence behind the six to eight petal rosette flower on the jacket. The pattern has a small rhomboid shaped centre around which are arranged eight solid circles representing the segments of the mangosteen fruit (*Garcinia mangostana*) (Inpam *Selvanayagam*:77) from the Muzium Tekstil Negara, Kuala Lumpur. The

⁹⁸ This *songket*, supplementary weft with gold threads, was given to the author by a distant relative who lived in Palembang south Sumatra around the 1900's.

sample of *kain limar telepuk* from the Islamic Arts Museum, is also reflected in the jacket on the sculpture (Fig. 3.36). These two suggestions of *songket* and a *limar* textile are a possible source of the technique which was replicated on this statue.

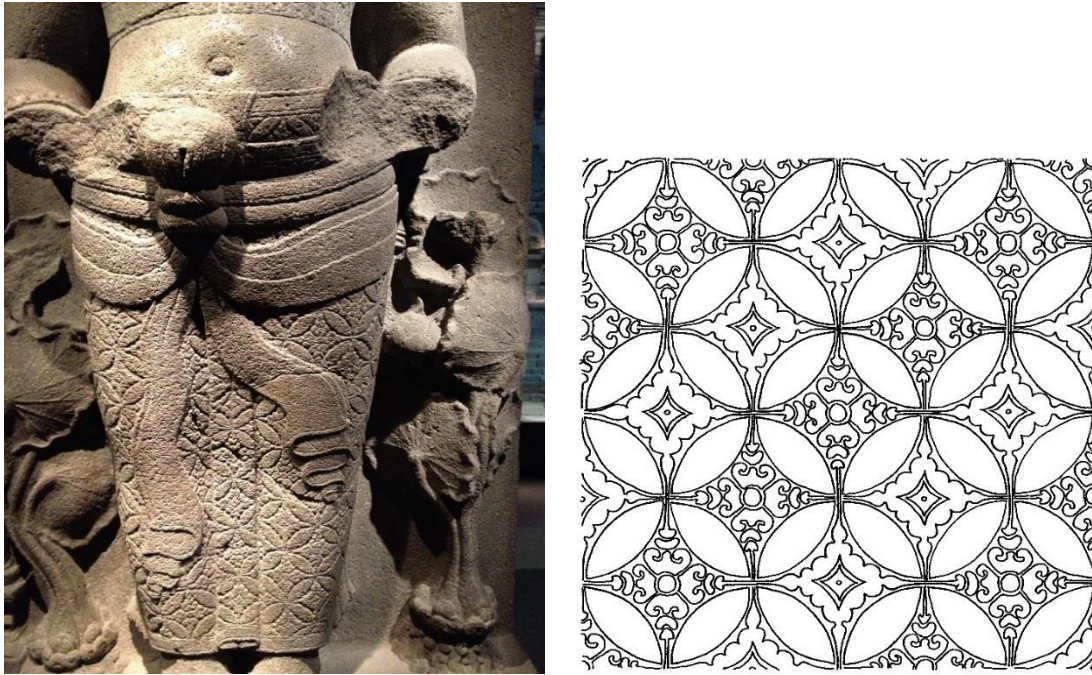


Fig. 3.37 Depiction of the lower limbs, indicating the *sash* tied with a large knot at the belly. Drawing of the textile pattern.

On the lower body the *sinjang* falls to the ankles with a pleated central panel, the form of the body not revealed beneath, we suggests might indicate a heavier material (Fig. 3.37). The *kawung* pattern⁹⁹ appears with two different designs which radiate in vertical bands. In this version the emphasis is on the star shaped central pattern, rather than the plain vesica. Draped over the *sinjang* is a plain *sash* in two sections which fall naturally over the lower legs, gathered up and tied at the side in a large bow and in front of the body into a very large knot.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ The *kawung* pattern could also have been inspired by the Chinese coins the Ssu Shu, as discussed in Chapter 1, a textile in the National Museum, Singapore has a batik described as '*Batik tulis ceplok*' inspired by Chinese coins from the 1960. However we do not think that in the 13th century, this pattern was inspired by Chinese coins, but we suggest it is far more likely too been developed from nature.

¹⁰⁰ This has often been described as a 'pouch', but by studying the way a sarong is tied today, especially in Myanmar this knot is obviously part of the fabric of the sash and not a pouch. Reference in Chapter 2.

This sculpture proves a valuable contribution as a template for past textile patterns as they are still seen today in *songket* textiles. Examples of this rosette flower pattern are also depicted in a fragment of lampas silk dated to the 13th century, as seen in the David Collection, See Appendix 3. Plate 13.

The stone figure of Mahākāla Cat. 48 as Śiva's fierce door guardian is in his second principle form, known as the Destroyer (Blom 1939:51). (Fig. 3.38) His dress consists of two parts, the jacket on the upper body with no sleeves which joins at the front. The pattern is carved in deep relief in horizontal bands set within a rope design with alternating circles of scrolling or the leaves from a recalcitrant spiral motif (Van Der Hoop 1949:272) along with a lotus with eight pointed petals (Fig. 3.39). This style of the lotus in a naturalistic or conventionalised disk form is a popular motif in many areas of Mahāyāna Buddhism, a pattern very similar in construction to that on Mahākāla. The pattern also recalls Tibetan stylistic norms as the carving of a textile patterns on a clay statue of Buddha Amoghasiddhi, dated to the 11th century Kyangbu in Tibet,¹⁰¹ (Fischer 1997:140, Maxwell 2003b:128, fig 78). Despite



Fig. 3.38 Cat. 47. Mahākāla RMV, Leiden

¹⁰¹ The resolution of the publication photograph is too poor to add here. This statue and the entire body of sculptures do not exist anymore.

the earlier date the figure in Cat. 48, this highlights the continuity of textile patterns as we see on this sculpture.

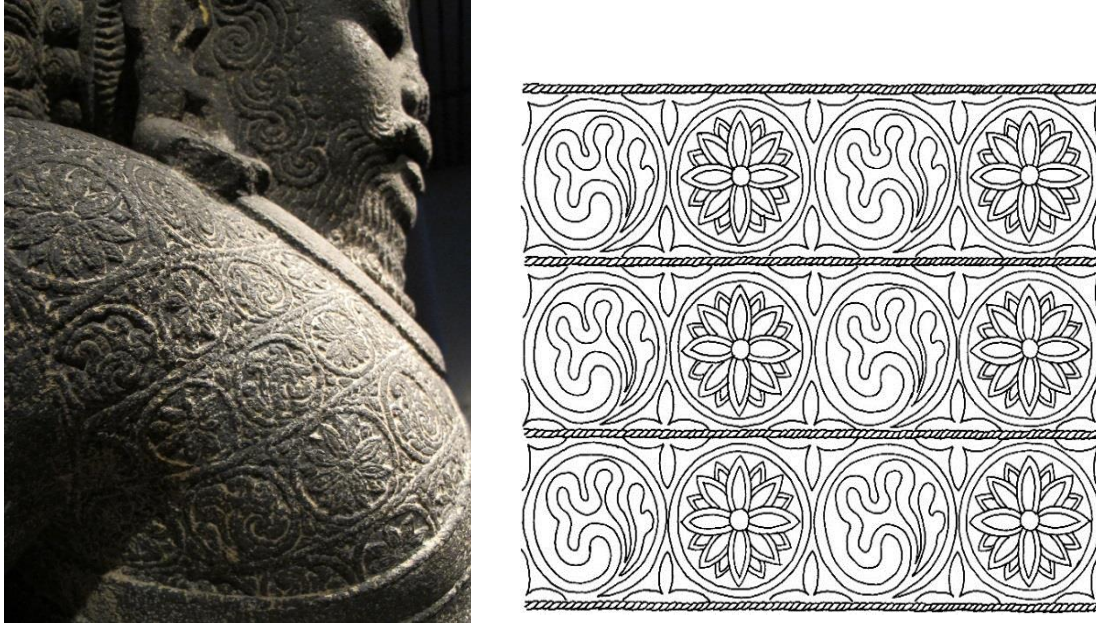


Fig. 3.39 Detail of the upper body and drawing of the textile pattern.

This sculpture and the others in the destroyed temple indicate the artistic achievements and the assimilation of foreign influences that eventually led to a cohesive Tibetan style (:140, Fig 118). Another such Tibetan example from 1328 is an esoteric Buddhist *mandala* woven in silk tapestry (*kesi*) (Clunas 1997:122, fig.60). The background motifs on the *mandala* clearly depict a series of meandering vines and lotus flowers,¹⁰² remarkably similar

¹⁰² The resolution of the image not clear enough to show here

to the pattern on the jacket of Cat.47. The figure wears a short hip wrapper around which is wrapped a double length long cloth belt which evidently holds up the *kain*. This long cloth is folded over and tucked in at the front of the body (Fig. 3.42). We think that a second cloth, the sash, is carved with the loose end looping over the front of the body to the right, the sash is then tied off in a large bow to the rear of the figure depicted in the backslab on both sides, and falling to the edge of the short *kain*.

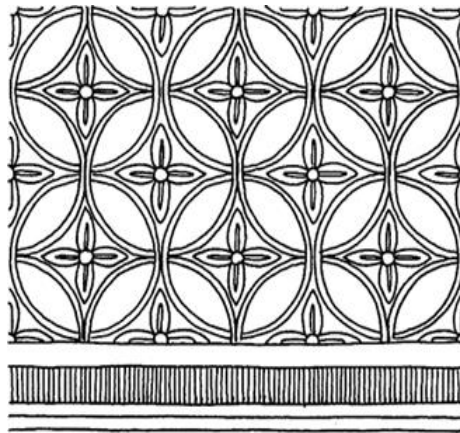


Fig. 3.41 Depiction of the lower limbs and drawing of the textile pattern of the *kain* showing the border pattern

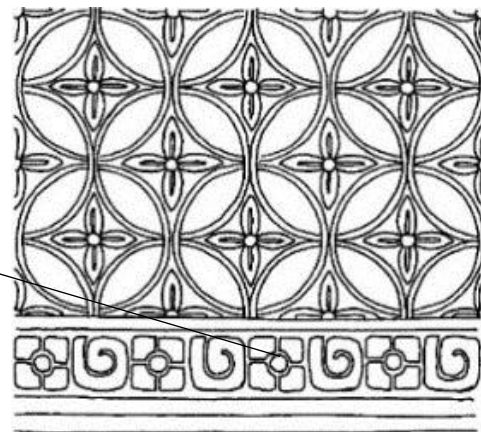


Fig. 3.40 Depiction of the sash pattern and a detailed drawing of the sash indicating the border pattern.

The *kain* falls to the knees with a small pleat at the front (Fig. 3.41), the design of a *kawung* pattern clearly carved with differing central motifs and three different border

patterns. One interpretation of the border patterns appears to represent a simplified *banji*¹⁰³

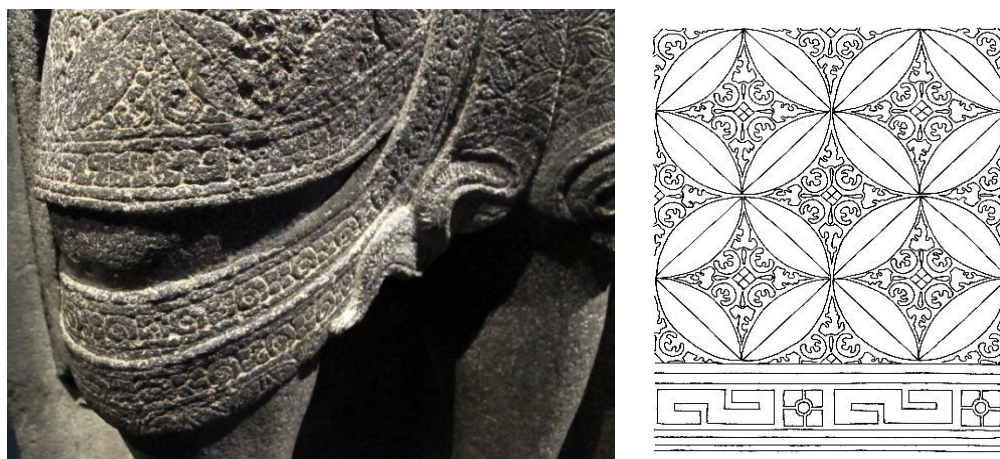


Fig. 3.42 Depiction of the right leg and the *kain* with the sash looping across the legs, drawing of the textile pattern.

(Fig. 3.42) or swastika pattern, this motif we suggest is also apparent on the *kain* border of Cat.62. The border pattern on the sash marked with horizontal lines clearly depicted at the folded ends of the sash at the rear of the body. The long cloth belt pattern depicts a stylised flower in a repeated square motif (Fig. 3.40). The pattern on the *kain* exhibits two clear designs, the focus on the circle or the four vesica motifs, the points touching to make up the circle. The artist has carved the pattern on the sash across the hips, and has taken into account that the design on this cloth, which is folded, is only seen in parts. We could suggest that the pattern and technique known as *geringsing*, with a pattern called *geringsing papare*, is suggestive of the type of cloth replicated on Cat.48. one suggestion is the figure could be depicted wearing a *geringsing* hip cloth. See Appendix 3, Plate 15.

The carving in deep relief on a smooth pale andesite stone allows for precise interpretation of the textile patterns and ornaments. We suggest that it was quite possible the sculptors were replicating textiles that were in existence at the time, as is evident from the diversification of the patterns. The study of these textiles have contributed to our

¹⁰³ The *banji* motif is derived from the swastika, a motif associated with a number of different peoples, In India it is the symbol of Viṣṇu and Śiva, while in China it is closely associated with Buddhism. The pattern used in Indonesia originated and is probably the oldest known pattern from the Chinese word *ban* meaning ten and *ji* meaning thousand, and believed by the Chinese to come directly from heaven. The motif could easily have been imported from India during this period. In Java today the *banji* motif is seen as an old and very traditional batik motif. Warming, W. & M. Garwoski. 1981. *The World of Indonesian Textiles*. London: Serinda Publications.:172

knowledge of textile either in production at the time, such as the *songket* patterns, or they were brought in as valued textiles and interpreted and replicated onto the statues.

King Krtanagara used the *Charter of Sarwadharma* as a proclamation of his programme, at the beginning of his reign, which he meant to carry on to include the policies of his father before him. As a token of the priest's loyalty it was written that they were not liable for fines for using and wearing certain ornaments and cloths, and this has often referred to as sumptuary laws. Such law was normally reserved for the¹⁰⁴ authorities. The *Charter of Sarwadharma* ends with a homage to Śiva only and seems to be of purely Śaivite origin (Pigeaud 1962:384-385). The dating of this charter one year after Kṛtanāgara came to the throne appears to signal a shift in stylistic interpretation of the types and style of the sculptures produced. This is evident in the increase of textiles and the elaboration of patterns carved onto the sculptures.

Blom suggested that these three figures were the “present *kotangs* of the *kraton padjurits* of Jogjakarta and Surakarta” (Ibid. 132). This term probably represents the prototypes of the present day guards of the *kraton*. However the term *kotang* actually means a brassier and the term we will use is service jacket.¹⁰⁵ Therefore we suggest that these figures are best described as protective guardians. If the ashes of Kṛtanāgara were interred at the Tower Temple, then they were suitably guarded by these images of the gods in ‘military jackets’ as part of the entourage of the king (Blom 1939:132). However this does not explain why each ‘guardian’ wore a different dress depicted with different patterns, when guards are generally dressed the same.¹⁰⁶ This subject will be further explored in Chapter 5.

Of course the textile patterns in themselves are not enough of an ‘iconographic sign’, of tantric iconography, however these patterns would appear as sufficient evidence of a Javanese version of tantric practice along with both Śaiva and Buddhist sculptures originating from Caṇḍi Singosari. Lunsingh Scheurleer suggests that a skull is a tantric attribute with the images of Gaṇeśa seated on skulls an indication of the cremation ground (Lunsingh Scheurleer Juni 1998:4-5). These unusual tantric depictions on some of the textile patterns created could

¹⁰⁴ Similar prerogatives were issued in Surakarta from the 17th century in regards to the patterns on clothing that could be worn, known as *larangan*. Ibid.: 175

¹⁰⁵ In conversation with Dwi Cahyone Appendix 3

¹⁰⁶ As is evident from my personal observation at the Kraton in Surakarta today.

well have been as a result of Kṛtanāgara's unusually devout religious affiliations. During the latter half of the life of the king he had adopted the name Śiva-Buddha, as seen in the (Nāg. 43:5) (Robson and Prapanca 1995:55, Casparis 1983:16). The term is best described in the *Sutasoma*, but as Hunter suggests in:

“terms of religious praxis we are not looking at a merger of religious establishments or a complete synthesis of religious doctrines, that has often been put forward as a characteristic of east Javanese religion”(Hunter 2007:33)

This merger of religious establishments was evident in this period, therefore the description of Kṛtanāgara as Śiva-Buddha¹⁰⁷ and the idea of syncretic fusion of the religion in the Singhasāri period, is apparent in the image of Kṛtanāgara undertaking initiations as Akṣobhya and as Bhairava. To illustrate this point further, we turn to Kate O'Brien's work on the *Sutasoma*. She explains the unique concept of kingship that emerges from the text. For example, the Buddhist ideals that substantiate the divine nature of a king claiming to be the incarnation of Buddha. These have far reaching implications in the understanding of Kṛtanāgara's kingship (O'Brien and Mpu 2008:3). The *Sutasoma* explains the ideals of Kinship and illustrates:

“Kṛtanāgara's realisation as the transcendent Buddha and brings him Oneness with the ultimate Śiva since at the highest level of Truth they are One”...“to claim both Śiva-Buddha divinity on kingship may well have been an artful solution to an otherwise divisive situation amongst his subjects”(O'Brien and Mpu:239).

However it is evident the tale of *Sutasoma* set out to explain and:

“to prove the royal divinity of Kṛtanāgara and his great-grandson, Rājasanagara, was also practising a similar if not the same system of Buddhist mysticism, then he too was Vairocana in mortal embodiment” (ibid. 245)

Another such inscription The *Mūla-Mulurung* Charter¹⁰⁸ refers to rituals connected to the traditions of royalty. The early rulers of Tumapĕl carried on the traditions of their

¹⁰⁷ The term is used when a king is unified with a god, in this case with Śiva or with a bodhisattva or Dhyani Buddha. Bhaṭāra in Old Javanese means 'divine ancestor', it's an honorific term. For reference see Ismail Lutfi Appendix 3

¹⁰⁸ Refers to the establishment of five monuments in the years preceding 1255, all of which are listed among the 27 royal shrines in the Nāgarakṛtāgama. Sidomulyo, H. (2010) From Kuta Raja to Singhasari. *Archipel*, 80, 1-62.:19. Sedyawati talks of the three Kṛtanāgara inscriptions one of which is the *Mūla-Mulurung*, in which it states the highest rank of officials were in direct line to the kings commands. Sedyawati, E. 1994. *Ganesa*

predecessors at Kaḍiri. Sidomulyo describes: “irrefutable evidence for a major shift in the religious orientation of the royal line of east Java sometime after 1255” (Sidomulyo 2010:22). Following the accession of Kṛtanāgara in 1254 revolutionary changes were introduced, when and what these changes might have occurred no one exactly knows. However the changes were quite likely affected by the threat posed by Khubilai Khan and should probably be linked in part to this threat (Sidomulyo:22). This charter is important for the new light it has shed on the history of the Singhasāri period.

The efforts of a long lasting legacy left by Kṛtanāgara created an indelible footprint (Hunter 2007:52-53) which above all was characterised by the wide variety of sculptures with a completely diverse selection of textile patterns. The sudden death of the king appeared to result in a sudden dearth in the production of sculpture. However perhaps the royal atelier did continue to produce sculptures in a similar style, such as the remainder of the sculptures at Caṇḍi Singosari not originating from the Tower Temple. In some instances we have no confirmation of the exact dates of some of the sculptures in this chapter, with only the type and style of the textile patterns on the sculptures to place them in a certain period.



Fig. 3.43 Cat. 49. Gaṇeśa RMV Leiden

statuary of the Kadiri and Singasari periods: A study of Art History (Translation of PhD dissertation, University of Indonesia, Jakarta 1985). Leiden: KITLV Press.:215

The large andesite figure of Gaṇeśa Cat. 49 is the fourth statue originating from caṇḍi A at Singosari. He appears in many styles in all periods of Java, but seems to have reached its peak during the Singhasāri period (Sedyawati 1994:256) (Fig. 3.43). Sedyawati explains that there seems to be a wider variety of 'art' styles, associated with the religion in the Singhasāri, however there is generally a single predominating formulation of traits, that of Gaṇeśa with skulls (Sedyawati:255). Raffles describes this Gaṇeśa with skulls as decoration to every part of the body (Raffles 1817:42), however he does not mention the textile pattern, and the drawing as the frontispiece in Vol. II shows an incomplete interpretation of the textile pattern. Of course all drawings are a personal interpretation of the artist and can never be an exact reproduction, therefore the drawings presented in this next group of Gaṇeśa are our interpretation of the patterns.

Hidden across the upper body is a plain *seléndang* the flap appearing on the left shoulder just visible beneath the skull ear ornament, the carving is identical to the same garment on Cat, 47 and 48. The *udharabhanda* is made of hinged metal plaques with a pattern of a-joining (*ficus religiosa*) pippal leaf ornaments, the parallels with the remainder of the body's ornaments are noteworthy. His dress is made up of three different garments, the jacket with no sleeves covers the upper body and finishes at the *udharabhanda*, just visible in the photos. The pattern is carved on a horizontal axis which depicts a large square design with a flower with four pointed petals, surrounded by a repeat circular pattern set within a square motif. The border is ornamented with a pattern of lappets or downwards lotus petals¹⁰⁹. The stylistic grammar of the pattern would suggest an embroidered or a brocade fabric, therefore the pattern could be replicating a *songket* fabric (Fig. 3.44).

¹⁰⁹ This is a typical Chinese stylistic attribute on Yüan blue and white ceramics, used around the foot and upper edges of a vase, often called 'upward lotus petals'. @2016 Jingdezhen China Ceramics Museum. Reference Chapter 1 for the trade of Chinese goods.



Fig. 3.44 Details of the jacket and the right ear skulk ornament, drawing of the textile pattern

On closer inspection the lower garment is delineated perhaps as a tight form of trouser, as there is no apparent evidence of the folds of the cloth on the lotus cushion, as in Cat.53 for example. This cloth is carved with what appears to be a design of skulls set on a diagonal axis, with a forward facing skull alternating as suggested by Lunsingh Scheurleer, with a pattern of a “one-eyed *kā/a*-head” (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998:192) (Fig. 3.45).

On the upper thighs is a short cloth, carved with a pattern of confronting stylised *kāla*-heads. The wide border pattern is set between double lines, and depicts a *kapāla* motif (Fig. 3.46). The broad *sash* is tied at each side and drapes over the ankles, apparent on the left side, but on the right the sash falls over the skull base.



Fig. 3.46 Detail of the upper left leg garment, highlighted by the border pattern, drawing of the textile pattern.



Fig. 3.45 details of the skull motif on the lower leg garment, and drawing of the textile pattern.

This statue of Gaṇeśa Cat. 50, (Fig. 3.47) could have been thought of as a pair to the previous figure of Gaṇeśa which originated from Caṇḍi A, however that is not the case. His apparel consists of three garments, each one with a different textile pattern. The sleeveless jacket is defined with a repeat pattern of a large square design on the horizontal axis (Fig.



Fig. 3.47 Cat. 50. Gaṇeśa NM, Bangkok.

3.48), which encompasses a four-petal flower surrounded by a scrolling circular motif set within a square grid. We suggest that the stylistic grammar of this textile perhaps represents a brocaded or embroidered fabric as the previous statue, as might be appropriate for a jacket. Brandes has suggested the *kain* possibly represents a trouser, which clearly finishes at the ankles (Brandes 1909:28), a suggestion we concur with.¹¹⁰ The pattern appears to be carved with skulls set on the diagonal axis, the forward facing skull motif alternates with a pattern of a 'one-eyed *kāla*-head'¹¹¹ (Fig. 3.50). The border pattern consists of a four petal flower interspersed with four leaves, around which are placed on each quadrant a *kapāla* shaped

¹¹⁰ See the previous Gaṇeśa for more details

¹¹¹ The depiction of the skull and one-eyed *kāla*-head is identified by the long upward thrusting tusks, and in the case of the skull the protruding teeth.

motif. The short cloth is carved with only a one-eyed *kāla*-head carved two different ways, each head set within a double border creating squares on the diagonal. The border consists of a *kapāla* motif interspersed with an eight petal rosette (Fig. 3.49). The sash is arranged over the thighs and finishes in a large knot, the ends draped to the ankles.

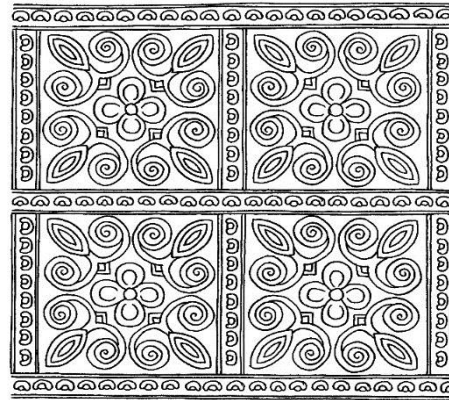


Fig. 3.48 Details of the jacket and drawing of the textile pattern



Fig. 3.49 Detail of the lower legs, depicting the skull pattern and the drawing of the textile pattern.



Fig. 3.50 Left, leg showing both textiles marked with a border pattern, right, the drawing of the pattern on the lower leg trouser

The pattern on these two Gaṇeśa both depict tantric iconography in the form of skulls and one-eyed *kālā* heads, depicted on a base of skulls. Lunsingh Scheurleer has described these four sculptures which originated from Caṇḍi Singosari as part of a tantric circle, yet despite some with demonic characteristics, perhaps in east Java this demonic iconography would have had another meaning. She suggests a broader context should be discussed in association with the many ancient aspects of the Indonesian people of headhunting, ancestors and fertility and the concept of regeneration (Lunsingh Scheurleer Juni 1998:15-16). Despite these suggestions, the depiction of such overt use of skull and *kālā*-head patterns is still in our opinion an iconographic symbol of a heightened tantric activity by King Kṛtanāgara.

Evidence of a number of carvings of one-eyed *kālā*-heads, would suggest the stone in the Trowulan Museum is testament to an evolution of this style. Lunsingh Scheurleer describes in east Java there was a 'demonization' of the skull and *kālā* motif (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998:192). Eventually the *kālā*-head motif appeared to have evolved during the 13th century, to be represented as a one-eyed *kālā*-head such as we see at Trowulan. Sutterheim, Bernet Kempers and Lunsingh Scheurleer have all discussed the evolution of the *kālā*-head motif (Sutterheim 1929:fig 11, Bernet Kempers 1959:fig 315-316, Lunsingh Scheurleer 1998:192). Unfortunately we have no context or answers as to how these large stone one-eyed *kālā* were used or placed, and there is no clear answer as to how or why this style developed. Bernet Kempers discusses the variable of the *kālā*-head features, asking how the fangs and the horns developed with only one eye. Perhaps the solar connections are

plausible resulting in the development of the cyclops-type of the one-eyed *kāla*, where possibly the one eye represents the eye of the sun. Indeed by the development of the Singosari sculptures we see a flowering of this unusual rendition of the *kāla*-head in the textile patterns of Cat. 49-52.

This monumental standing Gaṇeśa Cat. 51 is richly arrayed with rather simple yet beautifully executed and carved ornaments. The snake *upavīta* already belongs in all the Singosari Gaṇeśa. Around his waist is a belt carved with a foliate design, and the small skull in the buckle is unusual. His *sinjang* falls to the ankles with the outline of the legs clearly visible,



Fig. 3.51 Cat. 51. Gaṇeśa. Desa Sumber Pucung, near Karangates, east Java

and the *kain* is low cut under his copious belly (Fig. 3.51), the pattern finely incised with a somewhat worn design of skulls set in a diagonal axis. The traditional skull motif of Śiva is depicted with a crescent moon, however the moon now resembles fangs (Lunsingh

Scheurleer 1998:192) and curls up each side of the skull, a pattern known as *candrakapāla*¹¹² (Fig. 3.52).



Fig. 3.52 Detail of lower leg *kain* and sash, drawing of the textile *candrakapāla* pattern

The arrangement of the double sash is finished with a particular flourish, the two ends fall to the side of his legs to the ankles and are depicted laying over the lower legs, there is considerable attention paid to the large elaborate bow tied at the side of the body. The carving of the pattern is in shallow relief compared to the previous gaṇeśa and appears to be considerably worn from being left outside in the weather. We suggest this thinly incised skull pattern set within a triangle differs only slightly to the *sinjang*, therefore it is not clear enough

¹¹² It is unclear whether the term *candrakapāla*, was known in the central Javanese period. The *kāla*-head motif used over the doorways is an entirely separate motif from the skull on crescent moon depicted on images of Śiva and Ganesa, differing in both form and function. However by the east Java period they more or less come together with other motifs and are used in a completely different way. In east Java the skull motifs gains teeth and bits into the crescent moon below, the moon has become so elongated that it has become tusks. No images of Śiva are produced in this period, but this iconic image now adorns other gods in east Java. For example the Durgā from caṇḍi Singosari and a number of the Gaṇeśa. This motif also takes on a different form depicted as a one-eyed *kāla*-head, carved into the textile patterns of the two Gaṇeśa from caṇḍi Singosari. Lunsingh Scheurleer, P. 2013. *Gold From Java, Goud uit Java*. Gemeentemuseum Den Haag: W Books.:22-25

to create a drawing. The *candrakapāla*¹¹³ patterning of the *sinjang* is very similar in design and carving to the next sculpture Cat. 52, the key differences lie in the carving of the skull.¹¹⁴

The drawing which accompanies this statue brings to the reader's attention an otherwise unseen pattern which indicates the importance of the *candrakapāla* motif in east Java in this very short period. Two further examples are these two stone inscriptions or *prasasti*, are from the earlier Kaḍiri period dated to 1120. Both commissioned by the same king, King Bameswara¹¹⁵ (Fig. 3.53).



Fig. 3.53 Left, Stone inscription, *prasasti batu*, *candrakapāla*. Kaḍiri Period, Airlangga Museum. Right, Stone inscription at Caṇḍi Plumbangan, carving at the top shows the *candrakapāla* motif

¹¹³ Hadi Sidomulyo has proposed that the *candrakapāla* motif was also known in the early 12th century in Kediri, often used as the emblem or crest of some of the kings. One such example is on the top of a large *prasasti batu* or inscription, in the Airlangga Museum in Kediri, another is on the site of Caṇḍi Plumbangan dated to early 13th century. In conversation, Trawas, May 2016. However the carving of the *candrakapāla* symbol seems quite different on the *prasasti* to the rendition on the textile patterns

¹¹⁴ Cat. 51 has a skull pattern with round eyes, long curving teeth and double fangs curving to the widest part of the head, whereas the pattern on the S.4 is depicted with almond shaped eyes, short teeth and single fangs curving to the top of his head.

¹¹⁵ The emblem of the Kaḍiri kings is known as *Arghacandrakapala* – literally meaning ‘half crescent moon’. This information was gained from the label at the Airlangga Museum, translated by Eko Bastiawan. To explain the use of this emblem and its subsequent interpretation on the textile of the Gaṇeśa is a subject beyond the scope of this thesis. We can indicate however that the longevity of this motif is apparent for nearly two hundred years, which would in our opinion indicate the underlying tantric religion of the kings of east Java. The use of this symbol reach its height with Kṛtanagara and the statues of Gaṇeśa.

The monumental figure of Bhairava is carved in a smooth pale andesite stone Cat. 52, does not originate from Java, but from Sumatra (Fig. 3.54). The statue has been added at this juncture to highlight a certain similarity with other sculptures in the two textile patterns on his *kain* and the sash. This is the only sculpture from Sumatra which depicts any form of tantric iconography as seen here in the motifs on his short *kain* (Fig. 3.55).



Fig. 3.54 Cat. 52 Bhairava. MNI Jakarta, Detail of the right side of the body highlighting the patterned sash and short kain.



Fig. 3.55 Detail of the pattern on the *kain* and drawing of the textile pattern

A brief historical background to this sculpture will aid in our understanding of the relevance of this figure in this chapter. The Singhasāri ruler, Viṣṇuvardhana (r.1248-1268),¹¹⁶ and his son Kṛtanāgara, laid the foundations for the following Majapahit period (Tarling 1992:215). By the year 1275 both Palembang and Malayu Jambi¹¹⁷ in Sumatra had become the target of Kṛtanāgara's expansionist policies. See Appendix 4, Map 7. He launched what was known as the *Pamelayu* expedition to Jambi where his Javanese soldiers claimed suzerainty of South Sumatra (Munoz 2006:261, Kulke 1991:18, Schnitger 1937:8, Hall 1981:72, Bade 2002:34). Staying in Sumatra, the figure of Bhairava is thought to represent the first king of the Minangkabau, Ādityawarman, who is likely to have been the patron of this sculpture. It was thought that when he was a youth at the Majapahit court he became acquainted with the Bhairava sect. In the year 1370 after he had moved to Sumatra he was initiated as a Bhairava (Schnitger 1937:8).

The large sculpture is decorated with a very detailed *seléndang* depicted by fine lines across the breast and beneath the right arm. There is a remarkable similarity in the styling of this figure, most especially in comparison with the attendants of Amoghapāśa, Cat. 40 to 42. The short *kain* is depicted falling to the mid thighs, it appears pulled up in the centre in the style of a south Indian *dhoti*. The pattern on the *kain* is made up of a series of diamond shapes carved on the vertical axis, the carving of the patterns is delineated in a very similar style to the Cat.51. The patterns in each diamond is filled with a skull motif resting on a sickle moon known as *candrakapāla* (Schnitger 1937) (Fig. 3.55). Depicted around the central motif is a vegetal pattern which is carved to create a wavy outline to each diamond. Around the lower edge of the *sinjang* is a clearly delineated border pattern of three rows of circles, a larger one in the centre (this appears to be unfinished). The detailed patterning of the sash is distinctly different from the *sinjang*, both carved within a triangle on the vertical axis (Fig. 3.56). One of the small triangles is filled with four trefoil motifs, around which are placed four scallop shaped patterns, the alternating triangular pattern consists of a motif of an elongated flower

¹¹⁶ During the time of Viṣṇuvardhana, before his natural death he appointed his son Kṛtanāgara as heir. By the end of his life in 1268, Viṣṇuvardhana had transferred all his powers to his son, he abdicated and became a hermit Krom. 1926. *L'Art Javanais dans les Musées de Hollande et de Java*. Paris et Bruxelles: Librairie nationale D'Art et D'Histoire. :463

¹¹⁷ The second city ruled by the Śrīvijaya up to the 13th century.

and trefoil. The carving of the *sinjang* and sash is skilfully executed as the sculptor obviously understood how cloth falls in folds as the pattern is often half obscured.



Fig. 3.56 Detail of the bow on the sash at the right side of the body, highlighting the folds of the sash and an interpretation drawing of the textile pattern.



Fig. 3.57 Songket textile. *Studio Songket ErikaRianti*. 2001 Pullen Collection.

In 2001 *Studio Songket ErikaRianti* wove a *songket* textile pattern (Fig. 3.57), based on the sash pattern of the Bhairava. This reproduced pattern perhaps suggests that this type of weaving was entirely possible in the 14th century and highlights the longevity of weaving in the *songket* technique with the ancestors of the present day Minangkabau in west Sumatra. It is generally thought that the origins of *songket* lay not before the 15th century, and the technique of weaving with gold threads originating in Muslim north India. This knowledge is based on the old trading ports of Palembang and the commerce in the trading of cloth and threads. However from the Zhufanzi it is known that the

Chinese were trading silks and brocades from at least the 12th to 13th centuries and probably earlier (Rodgers, Summerfield and Summerfield 2007:1).

3.5 Group 5. Embroidery and Lotus Motifs

The goddess Prajñāpāramitā is carved in a pale almost white andesite stone with an extremely smooth surface. Cat. 53 was from Singosari is the lone Buddhist sculpture, known as one of the National Treasures of Indonesia (Fig. 3.58).



Fig. 3.58 Cat. 53. Prajñāpāramitā, with permission from MNI, Jakarta.

The *seléndang* is draped across her naked torso, with the flap visible falling onto the left shoulder, with Pāla stylistic attributes, however in this case unlike the Pāla Sena School of sculpture (Huntington and Huntington 1993:Chapter 18), the carving of the sash is more realistically portrayed. The *upavīta* takes the form of a three strand twisted chain depicting pearls or gold beads and joined with a large gold clasp at her left breast with the long chain falling onto the folds of her *sinjang* on the lotus cushion.

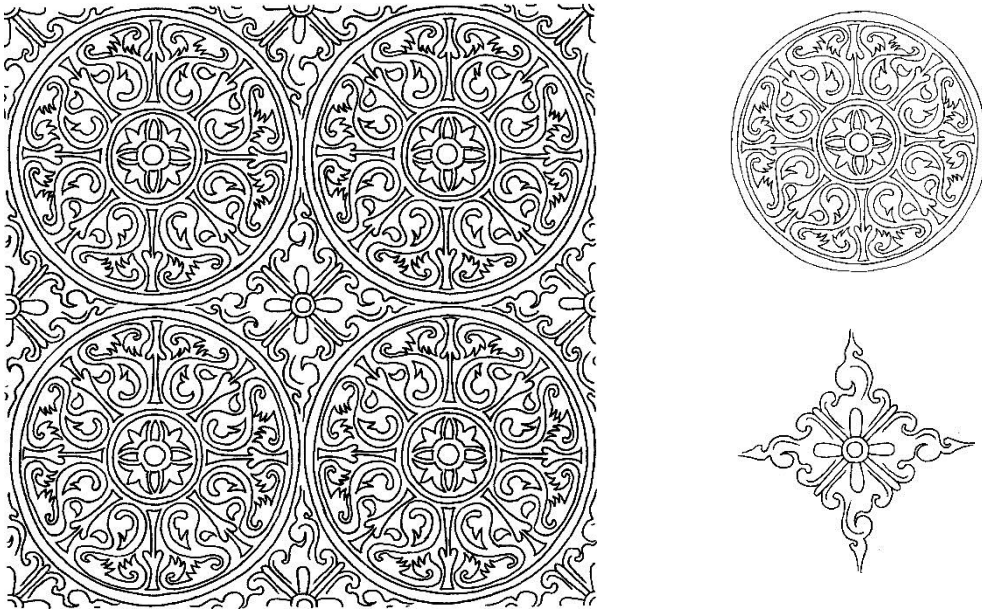


Fig. 3.60 Drawing of the textile pattern of the *sinjang*, right, detail of the roundel and star shaped motif

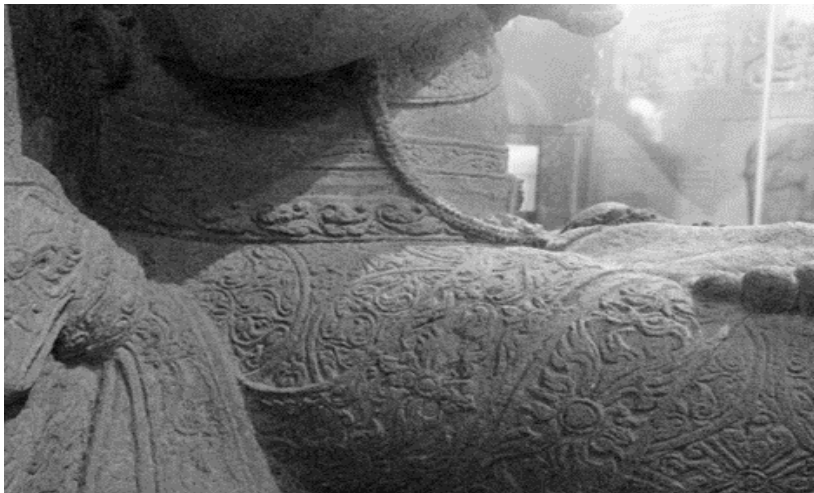


Fig. 3.59 Right side of the body depicts the patterned double sash and elaborate bow at the side on the backplate

The *sinjang* falls the length of the body with its many folds laying neatly on the top of the lotus cushion, with a clearly defined pattern of large roundels (Fig. 3.60). However the following description of where the roundels meet is purely suggestive and interpretative of the pattern. The interstice between the circles is a star shape which consists of a vegetal patterns, each one of the circles differs slightly as the petals around the circle on the right knee vary from 10-11 and the left knee there are 13. The pattern of the roundels is particularly

interesting, as our study of textile patterns in Java and Sumatra today or of the last two hundred years does not reveal any patterns that come even close to this one.¹¹⁸ Our interpretation of the contiguous roundels represents four quadrants around a central circle (Fig. 3.60), each quadrant contains two misshapen paisley motifs, a pattern which is difficult to describe but evokes so many possibilities.



Fig. 3.62 Drawing of the textile patterns of the two sashes which fall across the upper thighs.



Fig. 3.61 Lower legs, depicting the twisted pearl *upavīta*, the flower banded *uncal* and the *sinjang* folds on the lotus cushion

The most exuberant aspect of her dress is the double sashes. This distinctive decorative feature is carved with a flourish with which it is depicted tied as a large double bow at each side of the body. The loose ends drape over the lotus cushion to the pedestal

¹¹⁸ The website www.singosari.info describes this pattern as a jilamprang motif, in modern Indonesia it is seen as a traditional batik pattern.

(Fig. 3.61). There are two different and distinct patterns drawn on the *sash* of a repeated vegetal design, it might be that this pattern represents a brocade fabric to give the material body (Fig. 3.62). There has been little discussion in previous literature of the possible inspiration of the textile patterns on Prajñāpāramitā.

We present a number of possible ideas. The Tang rosette silk flower known as *karahana* or Chinese flower was a typical pattern at the end of the 7th and the early 8th centuries. This pattern is also evident from Panjikent, the ancient city of Sogdiana. For example in the first quarter of the 8th century the pattern was mostly used on saddle cloths and as suggested by Raspopova, and as samples for a cushion on a royal throne (Raspopova 2006:68) (Fig. 3.63). We suggest possible designs such as these could have been in some way an indirect inspiration behind the patterns on Cat.53 (Fig. 3.64). However the concept of vegetal patterns making a circle infilled with a star shaped design appear on numerous textiles, however we advocate there are noteworthy parallels here.

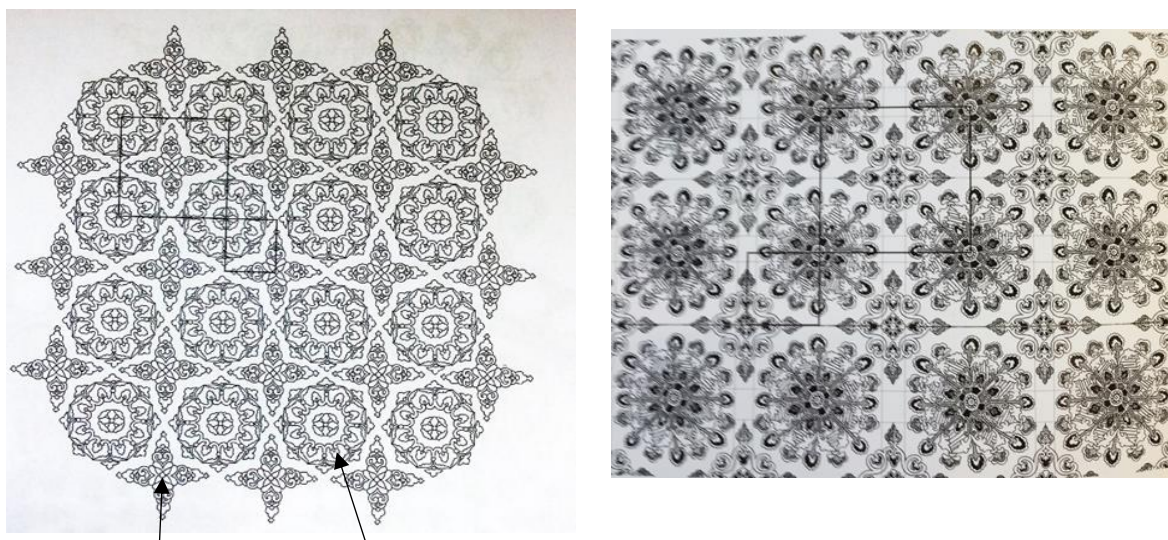


Fig. 3.63 Left, Rosette motif from a depiction of a saddlecloth. Right, Rosette motif from the depiction of a cushion. Early 8th century, Panjikent, Rm 28, Sogdiana. Image from Raspopova 2006

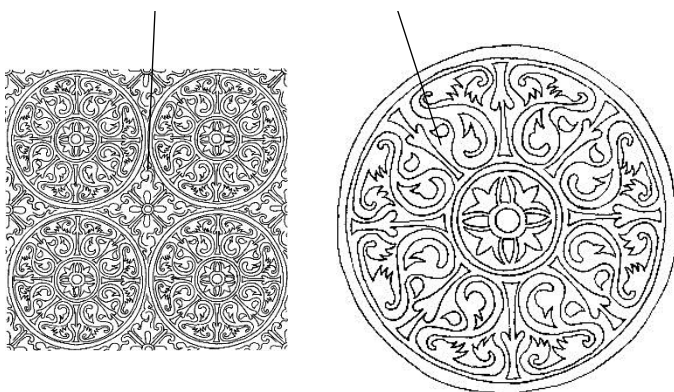


Fig. 3.64 Drawing of the textile pattern of the roundel and star shaped interstices motif

We also propose that it is more likely this cloth could be representing a *geringsing* double ikat textile, where the ‘star’ pattern is often so prominent. As on Cat.48 the *geringsing* cloth is a protective cloth and we suggest would be suitable for this sculpture. See Appendix 3, Plate 15.

Of all the east Javanese sculptures her execution is the most perfect with only slight damage to her fingers, the fineness of the carving possible because of the smoothness of the white stone. She is seated in the lotus position *padmāsana*, on a double lotus cushion placed on top of a square pedestal carved with a frieze of small rosettes around the pedestal, probably representing lotus flowers.¹¹⁹ Both Reichle and Fontein have given extensive detailed descriptions of the goddess (Fontein 1990:160, Reichle 2007:53), therefore no further information will be given at this point. From the intricacy of the design we suggest this sculpture could have been carved in the earlier period of Kṛtanāgara’s reign.¹²⁰

This seated stone figure of Prajñāpāramitā made from a pale white andesite is Cat.54. She remains in *situ* in Sumatra in a small site museum at the Buddhist site of Muara Jambi in Jambi. However she has also been attributed to the Singhasāri period as she appears stylistically similar; these similarities perhaps suggest close political, religious and artistic connections between these two regions of Jambi and east Java, see Appendix 4 Map 4 and 7. This stylistic comparison is based on the figure’s ornaments, and her general physiognomy, we can also observe from the way her garments fold over her crossed legs, which leads us to the belief that the two sculptures could have been made by the same hand in the same place.

¹¹⁹ This pattern has also been termed a ‘heart medallion’ used to decorate a Tibetan book cover dated to mid-9th century, is probably meant to correspond to Buddhist symbolism. Which consequently led to a blending of Buddhist design vocabulary with secular or regal designs? As this motif is also depicted on an 11th century Tibetan lion throne support, lending the idea that this motif can transgress over different medium and religious and royal affiliations Heller, A. 1998. Two Inscribed Fabrics and Their Historical Context: Some Observations on Esthetics and Silk Trade in Tibet 7th to 9th century. In *Entlang der Seidenstraße*, ed. K. Otavsky, 95-119. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung.: 115-116

¹²⁰ Scholars such as Fontein and Reichle have both dated this goddess to c.1300. As Kṛtanāgara died in 1292, we propose that this sculpture was made at the early phases of caṇḍi Singosari as a whole complex. By looking at her textile patterns and the way she is carved, all of which are a complete departure from any other sculpture found at the site. Perhaps this assertion of her geographical separation and difference in style from the remainder of the Singhasāri statues, helps us in dating her to an earlier period rather than to the construction of the Tower Temple, with a suggestion of around c.1280 to fit more closely with the style of the carving on the Caṇḍi Jago statues. This image of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā is thought to be the posthumous image of Queen Rājapatnī, the consort of King Kertarājasa, however as Fontein has stated we have no way of proving if this statue was meant to be that of the Rājapatnī. Fontein, J. 1990. *Sculpture of Indonesia*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc.:160

However the patterning of her textile differs considerably and does not show any parallel of the carving by a similar hand, or in the type or style of patterning. The suggestion has also been made that Kṛtanāgara sent either the statue or the artisans, who then produced a similar statue for the kingdom in Jambi (Fig. 3.66). This fact cannot be proved one way or the other as there is no inscription or text stating that a statue of Prajñāpāramitā was sent by Kṛtanāgara to the ruler in Jambi¹²¹. To enable us to distinguish a number of styles or places of origin and workmanship, and the intentions behind their making, we have to detect general trends at the time in both Java and Sumatra. All this is not possible, therefore we have to work on the premise that these two statues were made separately

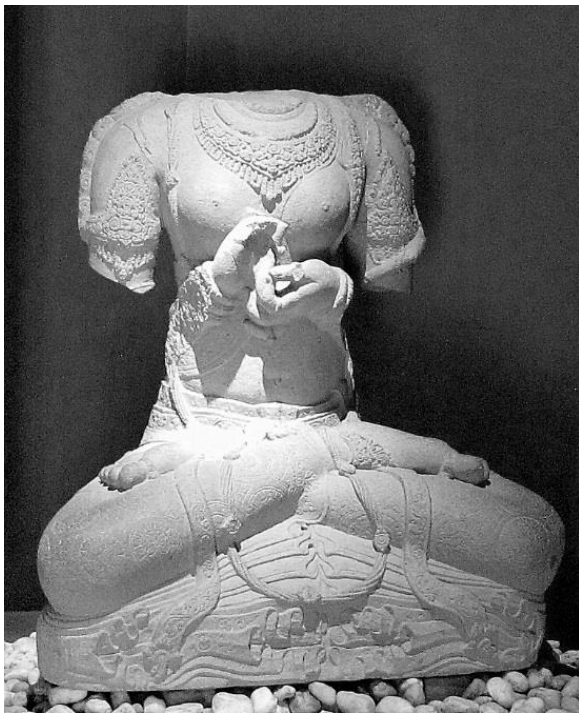


Fig. 3.66 Cat.54. Prajñāpāramitā, MJSM, Jambi Sumatra



Fig. 3.65 Detail of the legs, highlighting the chain *upavīta*

The statue is decorated with the *upavīta* hanging down over both shoulders onto the cushion in the front of the body (Fig. 3.65), it represents a five strand twisted chain of pearls, and joined with a clasp resembling gold work depicted at her left breast. Every ten to fifteen

¹²¹ The author wishes to complete post-Doctoral research into the origin of the andesite stone of which she is carved, to attribute the origin of the stone to enable us to finally attribute a place of origin for this important statue. Analysis of Javanese volcanic stone has already been completed so a small sample of this stone is needed to complete the tests as to her origin.

centimetres along the chain are spacer ornaments, possibly representing gold work? A worn but decorated *seléndang* is depicted falling between the breast and beneath the right arm, on the rear of the body it is clearly visible across the back finishing with a pleated end over her left shoulder.



Fig. 3.67 Detail of the border pattern on the *sinjang* depicted at the ankle.

A *sinjang* is carved finishing at the ankles, and lays over the cushion base in a multitude of delicately carved folds; the pattern in our opinion appears unfinished. This is evident on the lower folds where it is carved with a series of small rosettes and no other pattern. The *kain* that falls over the ankles, is finished with a small border and a triangular shaped motif often known as a stylised

‘tree of life’, bamboo shoot or *pucuk rebung*¹²² (Fig. 3.67). This motif is traditionally woven into *kain limar*, Malay weft *ikat* textiles in silk, where this motif has also been described as a cockspur or *lawi ayam* motif (McIntosh 2012:202-213). It is tempting to state that this motif on the *kain* of Prajñāpāramitā is the first evidence of the development of this particular ‘Malay’ textile pattern, which we see in an old 19th century *limar* from Muntok, Bangka Island and of weft *ikat* from Pattani, Thailand. These textiles can be seen in Appendix 3. Plate 17 and 18. In the 13th and 14th centuries, new regional powers emerged, and the options for the local Malay rulers were curtailed. Siamese military activities of the Sukhothai followed by Ayutthaya kingdoms in the mainland, spread their activities down as far as the Straits of Malacca (Tarling 1992:175). The incursion of the Siamese and the influence of the Chinese under the Song, could at this time easily have had an influence on the textile patterns of the Prajñāpāramitā. This pattern also appears to be remarkably similar to the border motif on this

¹²² *Pucuk rebung* is the Malay term for the *tumpal* or triangular motif depicted at the edge of a cloth. Described in Chapter 3.

Thai/Cambodian¹²³ *hol*, weft ikat of the late 19th century. It also appears many times on textiles of this period, again on Malay *kain limar*, from Palembang or Bangka Island. The current evidence of these existing textiles, and their joint historical background, perhaps dates back to the time of the Prajñāpāramitā, and perhaps attests to the roots and longevity of this particular motif.¹²⁴



Fig. 3.68 Detail of the pattern of roundels on the sinjang, drawing of the textile pattern.

The main pattern on the *sinjang* which is evident over the thighs also seems to be unfinished, or very simply executed compared to the intricate detail of the sashes. The design is carved in relief consisting of large concentric circles, the interstices filled with a triangular motif made up of four trefoil patterns. The decoration within the circles is unique to this particular sculpture, and consists of a four petal lotus flower set with a double roundel in

¹²³ The Siamese royalty gave Cambodian silks to members of their court and to less powerful rulers of their kingdoms as gifts of allegiance. Similar patterns are depicted in Indian Trade cottons that were commissioned for consumption in Siam. McIntosh, L. S.-. 2012. *Art of Southeast Asian textiles : the Tilleke & Gibbins collection*. Chicago, Ill.: Serindia Publications. Pg.174

¹²⁴ The town of Muntok on Bangka island, was part of the Regency of Palembang where most of the *kain limar* were woven for the Palembang courts. In personal communication with weavers in Palembang.

which is a simple pattern of the outer petals of the lotus flower (Fig. 3.68). Overlaying the thighs lays a double sash or *sempur* depicted tied in a large soft bow at each side of the body, the two ends are carved on either side laying alongside and completely covering the lower cushion. There appear to be two different and distinct patterns drawn on the *sempur*; one of a realistically carved lotus flower within a scrolling vine motif and one of a stylised lotus flower within a scrolling vine pattern (Fig. 3.69).

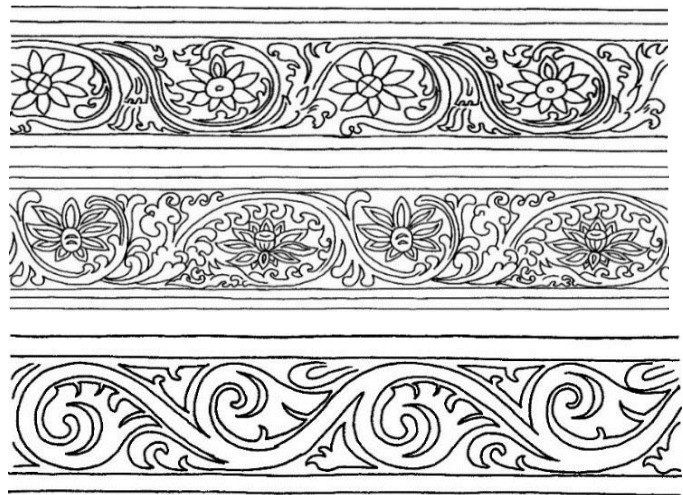


Fig. 3.69 Detail of the sashes on the cushion at the side of the body. Drawings of all the different sash patterns.

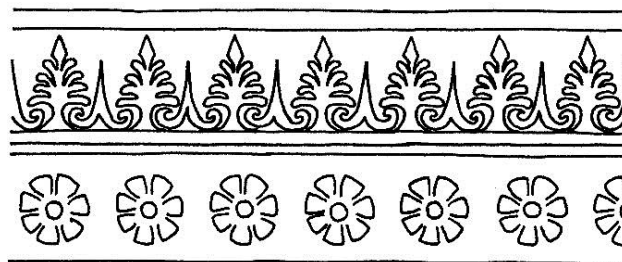


Fig. 3.70 The reverse of the body, highlighting the large bow and drawing of the pattern depicted on the ends of the bow.



Fig. 3.71 Chinese Song kesi flower border.

We suggest the pattern on the sashes of the goddess could well be meant to represent an embroidery technique. Embroidery has been very popular in China, used to create the

intricate details needed for Buddhist textiles (Lin 2006:62) An 11th century Liao embroidery roundel, also exhibits the same aesthetic qualities as the sashes depicted on the goddess, as does this Song *kesi* flower border (Fig. 3.71). Examples in Appendix 3. Plate 18 to 19.

3.6 Group 6. Ceplok Patterns- Kawung motif

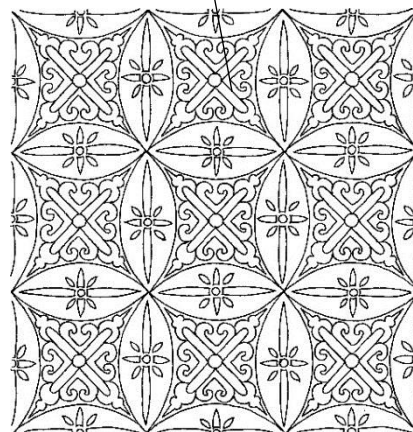
The large stone figure of Cat. 55 is the goddess Prajñāpāramitā from Boyolangyu, the statue appears to be unmistakably ‘dressed’ in royal attire, with an *upavīta* appearing as a five-strand pearl chain. The chain is joined with an elaborate clasp which sits on the lower folds of her *kain*, with another clasp at her left breast. Reichle describes the band across her chest as “some kind of fabric” (Reichle 2007:63) (Fig. 3.72). The band across her chest although faint however clearly represents a plain very wide *seléndang* depicted by faint lines across the upper torso, finishing on her left shoulder with a large flap in the typical Singosari style. She wears a number of belts, both in metal and of fabric, the ends draped over the lower legs, but unfortunately due to erosion of the surface the detail is very faint. The depiction of the pattern on the *sinjang* is also considerably worn with very little detail still visible to the naked eye (Fig. 3.73). It has been described by Reichle as ‘not patterned’ (Reichle:63), however there is enough pattern to create a re-construction of the design in this drawing. What is visible is a repeated pattern of four vesica to create a square from the inside, and a circle if viewed from the outside. Within each of the four vesica is a small five-petal flower and two elongated petals (Fig. 3.73). The pattern within the circles represents four sections in which is a scallop shape motif, this motif is part of the *ceplok* group patterns. Her *sinjang* is just visible on the lower front leg shown at the ankles. The pattern is not carved in deep relief as in Cat. 54, but appears incised in fine lines.



Fig. 3.72 Cat. 55. Prajñāpāramitā, Caṇḍi Boyolangyu, Tulungagung District, East Java



Fig. 3.73 Detail of the lower right leg, indicating the five strand upavīta and the elaborate jewelled clasp. A faint depiction of the textile pattern remains. Drawing of the textile pattern.



Overlaying the sarong is a narrow sash which ties in a large bow at the side of the body, and the two ends fall the length of the legs. There do however appear to be remnants of a vegetal pattern drawn in fine lines, the design drawn on the sash differs from the *sinjang*.¹²⁵ The pattern interpretation appears to consist of a series of finely executed squares with a four-petal flower overlaying the crossed demarcation of the centre pattern (Fig. 3.74). We have placed her in the Transition style, despite her late date of 1362 which puts her well into the Majapahit period, the style of the carving and the ornaments, plus this fine textile pattern places her closer to a Singosari sculpture. The textile patterns are the defining feature,

¹²⁵ The deciphering and interpretation of this textile pattern was only possible by good quality digital photographs, the use of magnification of the photos on a computer, and the keen eyes of the artist, Ms Huang.

the design which stylistically undoubtedly fits more closely with Cat.40 to 42 than it does the *ceplok* patterns of the following Majapahit sculptures in the 14th centuries.

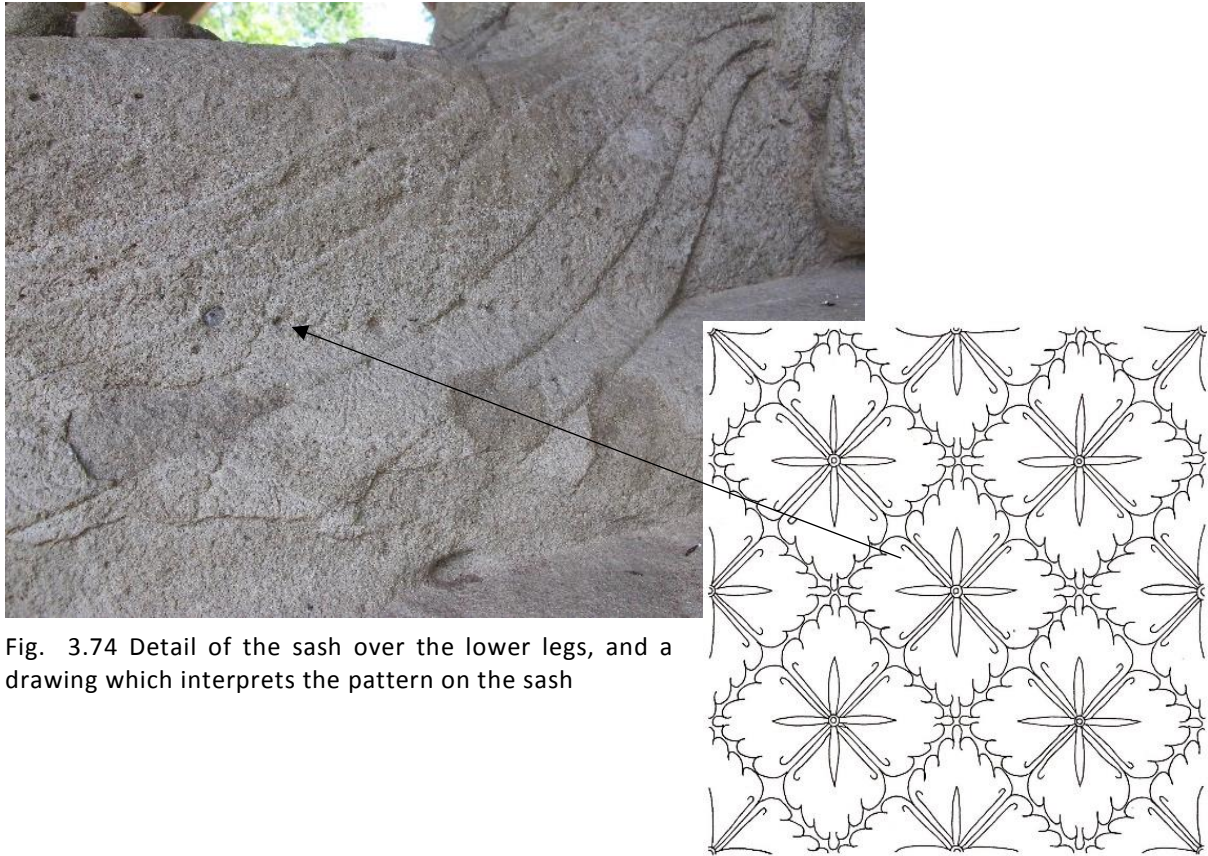


Fig. 3.74 Detail of the sash over the lower legs, and a drawing which interprets the pattern on the sash

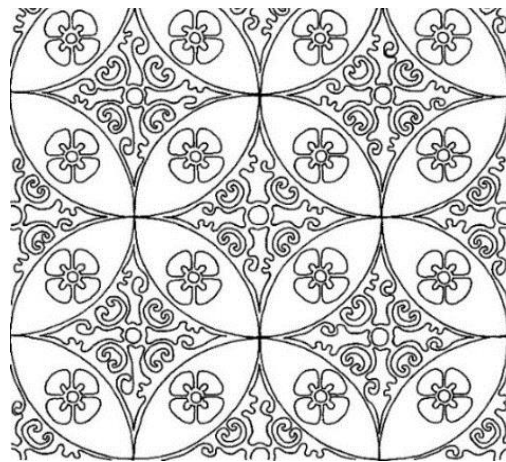
The severely damaged stone sculpture Cat. 56, has little if no provenance, except for the fact she was found at Singosari in the ruins of Caṇḍi B in 1904 (Fig. 3.75). The *upavīta* is just discernible between her breasts resembling three strands of pearls, whereas the pattern has deteriorated leaving only the remnants of the pattern still discernible are a faint outline of a design of concentric circles, with the four joining vesica. The finely executed interstices of the vesica represent this pattern of a four pointed star and a small rosette flower (Fig. 3.76). The sash as an intricate part of the dress style is clearly visible at either side of the body tied in an overly large bow which is bound with a jewelled band, the ends appear on the backslab where the border pattern is just discernible.



Fig. 3.75 Cat. 56, Unidentified Goddess. Caṇḍi Singosari, Malang, east Java.



Fig. 3.76 Detail of the lower right leg, highlighting the faint outline of the pattern on the *sinjang*. Drawing of the textile pattern.



A close study of this version of the pattern displays certain Chinese stylistic attributes as depicted in these two textile samples date to the Liao period in China (907-1125) (Langewis and Wagner 1964:164). They show a remarkable similarity in the style of roundels depicted in Cat.56, in the depiction of the 'star' motif and the general esthetic of both Javanese and Chinese patterns (Fig. 3.77). Despite the earlier Liao dating,¹²⁶ these textiles are a reflection of the type of complex brocade weave structure which may well have been the inspiration behind the pattern on this deity. There do not however appear to be any such similarities in

¹²⁶ Regula Schorta suggests Liao art displays influences from the arts of Tang and Central Asian where they held constant contact. Central Asian art was highly eclectic, as it remained a central hub over centuries for influence from every part of Eurasia that were incorporated, absorbed and perpetuated. Schorta, R. 2007. *Dragons of Silk, Flowers of Gold: A Group of Liao-Dynasty Textiles at the Abegg-Stiftung*. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung.:14

the textile designs in present day Javanese or Malay textile traditions, which leaves us to assume that this pattern could well have been of a local weave perhaps representing a valued



Fig. 3.77 Detail from *samit* robes, Liao Dynasty, image from, R. Schorta, *Dragons of Silk and Flowers of Gold*, 2007, Abegg Stiftung.

imported Chinese silk textile. In her original state the dress and ornamentation on this damaged sculpture would have been of the highest quality.

Ca.56 was published in 1939 by Blom, but previously by J. Knebel in 1909 when he completed excavations with the renowned scholar J.L.A Brandes, however no photographs were taken of the sculpture. Whilst we visited the site three times for field work in 2009, 2014 and 2016, during the intervening period the delicate textile pattern had almost completely disappeared. What was visible in 2009 was a small area of pattern on the front right leg, where enough detail was still discernible to make line drawings of the repeat design. However by 2014, even this small pattern has all but completely disappeared.

The next four sculptures originated from Caṇḍi Singosari. Two remain within the grounds of the Tower Temple or Caṇḍi A at Caṇḍi Singosari and two are located in museums.

The next stone sculpture Cat. 57 is the remains of a Dikpāla,¹²⁷ which remains in the grounds at Caṇḍi Singosari. By studying photographs taken by Brandes in 1909, the textile pattern on the *sinjang* appeared to be still quite evident over both legs (Fig. 3.78), where the



Fig. 3.78 Cat. 57. Guardian of the Nadir. Left 2014, right after Brandes 1909, Caṇḍi Singosari, Malang photograph clearly depicts a pattern of textiles. Meanwhile in this 2014 photograph there remains just enough visible design, however by 2016 the textile pattern has virtually disappeared. Therefore we have reconstructed the drawing combining the Brandes drawings to decipher the repeat pattern of the textile (Fig. 3.79).

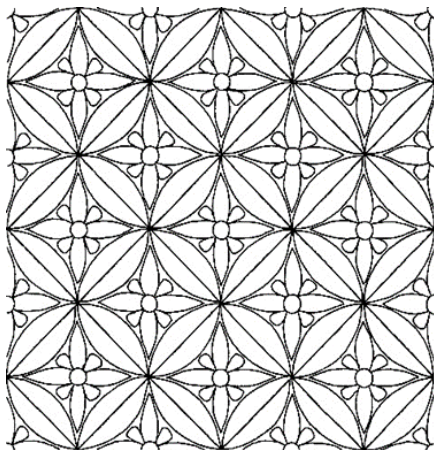


Fig. 3.79 Drawing of the textile patterns, based on the 1909 Brandes photograph and the personal observation in 2014

The *vāhana* the tortoise looks to be inserted or ‘carrying’ the deity between the lotus cushion and his own base. The surface of the legs is badly eroded by the weather, with the ornaments and *kain* barely visible, the head of the tortoise missing. What is visible of the *upavīta* is just discernible falling over the waist line as a string of three pearls. The *sinjang* lays in neat folds on the front of the cushion, depicted on the right knee we can still discern

the faint outline which we interpret as a *kawung* motif. In this instance the four vesica constitutes a

¹²⁷ Aṣṭa-Dikpāla - Eight regents or guardians of the sky quarters or directions’ originating from Caṇḍi Singosari. 1. Guardian of the Nadir, *vāhana* is a tortoise. 2. Agni, guardian of the south-east, *vāhana* is a grey goat. 3. Kuvēra, guardian of the north, *vāhana* is a ram. 4. Narṛta, guardian of the southwest, *vāhana* is a *bhūta*. 5. Yama, Lord of Death, guardian of the south, *vāhana* is a buffalo Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. (1955) The Dikpalakas in Ancient Java. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 111, 356-384.:359-362

circle around a four-pointed flower (Fig. 3.79). Reference Appendix 3 Plate 16 for examples of contemporary batik, some dated to the early 19th century, the motifs clearly indicates the similarities and style of patterning and the longevity of this *kawung* motif.

We would suggest, that the textile patterns on the stone could represent a precursor to a modern day *batik*, having said that we can also suggest a woven brocade cloth. This type of pattern is closer in style to the equivalent *kawung* motifs on the Majapahit sculptures of the 14th century than to similar patterns in the 13th century, but the stylistic grammar of the sculpture is clearly in the Singosari Style. The tortoise is decorated with a necklace which probably replicates one which would have been worn by the deity itself. His feet clearly distinguish him as a tortoise, along with his shell which sits over the body. At either side of the tortoise is a finely carved vegetal pattern, which is very apparent in the Brandes 1909 photograph, but appears worn in the 2016 photograph.

3.7 Group 7. Large Daisy Flower pattern

The seated stone figure of Cat.58 is the guardian of the southwest Nairṛti (Fig. 3.82). The surface has been covered in some kind of varnish and overlaid with a gold paint which has made a full description difficult, despite this the carving of the statue is in near perfect condition. The *sash* is carved on the backslab at either side of the body with a large knot, the



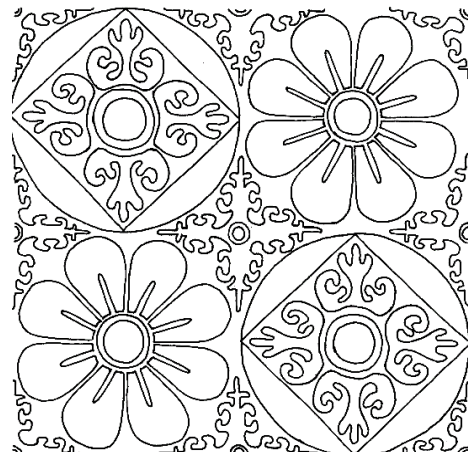
Fig. 3.82 Cat. 58. Nairṛti. VB, Jakarta



Fig. 3.81 Depiction of the lower limbs, indicating the long belt draped over the lower legs, the textile pattern just visible on the right knee



Fig. 3.80 Detail of the lower right knee, a clearly rosette flower. Drawing interpretation of the textile pattern



pattern on the *sinjang* is barely visible where the cloth falls the length of the body. The pattern, however, is still just discernible on the front right leg. The interpretation of design appears to represent a large daisy with rounded petals, interspersed with a square in a circle design (Fig. 3.80), of particular note is another variation of this pattern on Cat. 59.

The second sculpture in this group is Cat. 59, a large damaged stone depiction of Brahmā, these statues are exceeding rare in east Java, and this statue presents Brahmā, as an ascetic (Fig. 3.83), carved from a grey granular stone which differs in colour from the remainder of the Singosari statues (Blom 1939:89), however the stones seems to be of the same quality as the sculptures from Caṇḍi A in the Singosari complex, but only lighter in colour. This would indicate that these sculptures were all made at a similar period with an equivalent type of andesite rock. Anatomically this is a very fine figure, where the sculptor has clearly define the sheer volume of the torso.



Fig. 3.83 Cat. 59. Brahmā, with kind permission of RMV, Leiden

He is carved with a broad *seléndang* which drapes across the upper body, carved with a line across the centre as do the sculptures from Group 4, but the pattern is somewhat worn to decipher any further details, however the end clearly falls over the left breast. The *upavīta*,



Fig. 3.85 Depiction of the lower limbs from the right side, indicating the *sash* the *sabuk*

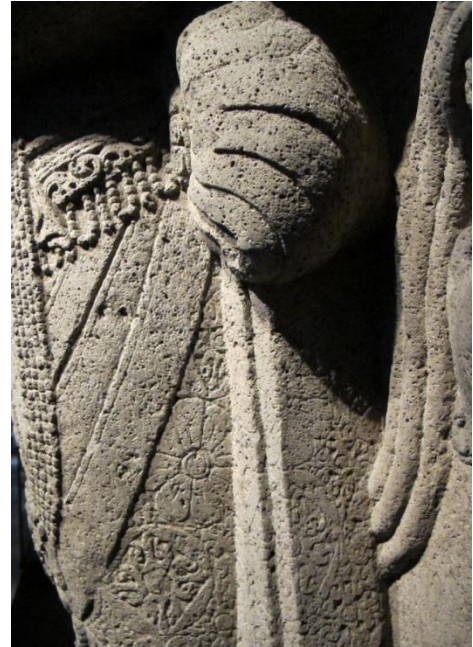
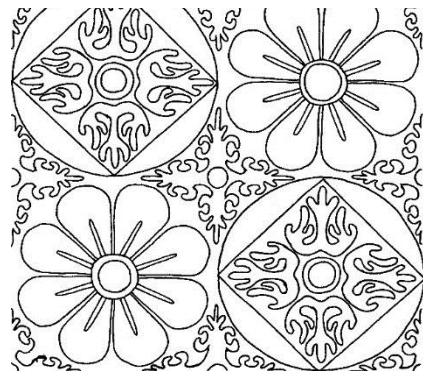


Fig. 3.84 Detail of the lower body of the left side, indicating the broad sashes and the textile pattern. A drawing of the interpretation of the textile pattern repeat.



which drapes over the *seléndang* resembles a strand of five strings of pearls and falls to the knees with a large elaborated clasp also decorated with pippal leaf ornaments. The broad size and type of *upavīta* fits more closely with the Majapahit Style, however we maintain that the style and pattern of the *sinjang* fits with the Singosari Style, hence the statue is in Transition Style. The *sinjang* falls the length of the body with a small well-defined pleat at the front where the statue is damaged. The carved textile pattern in shallow relief is quite worn

on most of the *sinjang* as the surface of the stone has exfoliated on the right side, but is clearly discernible on the left side (Fig. 3.84). The pattern represents three different motifs, a large eight petal daisy flower with eight rounded petals, perhaps a version of the Chinese flower we described earlier, juxtaposing these is a pattern constituting a square within the circle, filled with four trefoil scallops, carved around a small inner circle. The diamond shape pattern that fills the interstices is made up of a four leafed vegetal design. Draped over the *sinjang* is the plain *sash*, the long patterned ends hang rather stiffly to the side of the body with the same design as the *sinjang*. The sash ties in an overly large bow carved around the neck of the bow held with a jewelled band, very similar to that on the figure of Cat.45. The long belt drapes on the front of the thighs, suggestive of a heavy fabric or leather and decorated with circular plaques, probably representing gold.

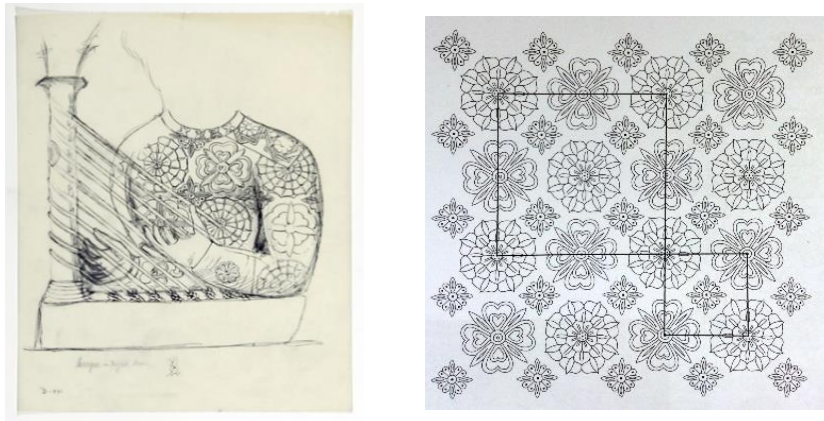


Fig. 3.86 Right, Drawing of the harp player, 7th century Sasanian rock reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan. Left, drawing of the textile pattern, image from Canepa 2014

There are some parallels with past textile patterns which are noteworthy. We suggest that the patterns on the *sinjang* of Cat.59 show a certain similarity to the textile pattern and the layout of this depiction of the harp player taken from the 7th centuries Sasanian rock reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan.¹²⁸ The reliefs show royal fashion and textile designs depicted in the utmost detail (Canepa 2014:5). There is a certain similarity in the geometrical layout and design of the floral rosettes (Fig. 3.86). However this type of rosette pattern is also visible on

¹²⁸Taq-i Bustan (Iran): Sasanian Rock Reliefs, Large Vault, Relief Panel Picturing the Boar Hunt: Harp-Player in Right Boat, Textile Pattern on Costume. The pattern described as a series of four rosettes and diagonal crosses. Otavsky, K. 1998. Zur Kunsthistorischen Einordnung der Stoffe. In *Entlang der Seidenstraße*, 119-215. Riggisberg: Abbbeg-Stiftung.:130, Abb.60



Fig. 3.87 Fresco of a king in Nanpaya temple, c.948, Bagan, Myanmar. Pullen photo

a king's robe depicted on a wall painting at Pagan. Here we see individual large rosettes depicted painted over the robe of the king (Fig. 3.87). There is here once again a certain similarity in the 10th to 11th century wall paintings in the Patothamya and Nanpaya (Mahler 1958:37), ¹²⁹ and the 13th century figures in Cat.58 and 59. Flood has suggested that if the royal figures at Pagān and the kings in 11th centuries Ladakh (Bera 2012:Chapter 2), are wearing robes from another land, they were probably gifted and seen as an object of identity. Flood has also suggested that the gifting of

robes was often seen as a way of gaining the loyalty of the king or regent to which the robe was gifted (Flood 2009:84). If the tradition of gift giving including robes, were to be carried out in Java, suggestions can be made that many such robes or lengths of cloth could easily have been gifted or traded to the King at the time. However in this case, the Javanese elite did not wear robes, they wore a *kain* or cloth, that was uncut and worn wrapped around the body.

So perhaps textiles with patterns which we have seen on a number of the sculptures, have appeared to be either Persian, Indian or Chinese in origin, and we can suggest were brought into the region and treasured as gifts or as a statement of political power.

¹²⁹ The Patothamya temple dated from the 10th to 11th century, is typical of the first phase of Pagān building. The features of the Mon people were evident at this phase of the building, and the textiles were strong in design but were treated as flat patterns. The ceiling paintings depict a number of Chinese patterns, influenced from the Tang period. For example the lotus blossom which is reduced to an abstract pattern often reflects a strong resonance of Sassanian and Chinese ideas that were so interchangeable over the centuries. After Pagān became the capital, ideas also became exchangeable with the outside world. Especially now with India and Ceylon and other neighbouring countries in the wake of the increase in trade relations and diplomatic exchange Mahler, J. G. (1958) *The Art of Medieval Burma in Pagan. Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, 12, 30-47.:37-39.

We have placed this statue into the Transition Style for the following reasons. The concept of a Hindu deity not depicted as a monarch, the juxtaposition of his Singosari style of dress and the type of textile patterns, his hair style and the depiction of the *seléndang* and the sash. However the stiff upright stance and *mudrā*, the overly long five strand *upavīta*, all point to a later Majapahit style.

3.8 Group 8. Brocade patterns

This last group include two sculptures both in Transition style. Their textile patterns, do not bear any particular relation to each other, as each statue is a different colour and a different type of andesite stone. Despite this next statue with a *kawung* textile pattern, we have not placed the figure in Group 6 because of the late dating and Transition style.

The stone figure of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī Cat.60 is a complete departure in style to the previous Durgā Cat.46. The *upavīta* in this instance resembles a long four strand string of pearls draped over the upper thighs. The figure is carved with a slight sway to her body with the *sinjang* arranged in neat folds at either side (Fig. 3.88). The textile pattern motif is clearly part of the *ceplok* pattern group as a *kawung* pattern. The design constitutes of four vesica, when viewed on the vertical plane the emphasis is at the joined points to make a square. Each square is filled with a simple four leaf trefoil placed around a small circle. Draped



Fig. 3.88 Cat.60. Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī.
MTM, Surabaya

over the thighs almost at the knees is a plain double *sash*, which is tied in a large knot, the ends falling the length of the body flaring outwards, suggestive of ‘movement’ (Fig. 3.89). The construction of this pattern does not appear to continue in the Malay tradition of *songket* weaving, but we do see some parallels with 20th century batik *kraton* patterns in Java. See Appendix 3, Plate 16 to 17.

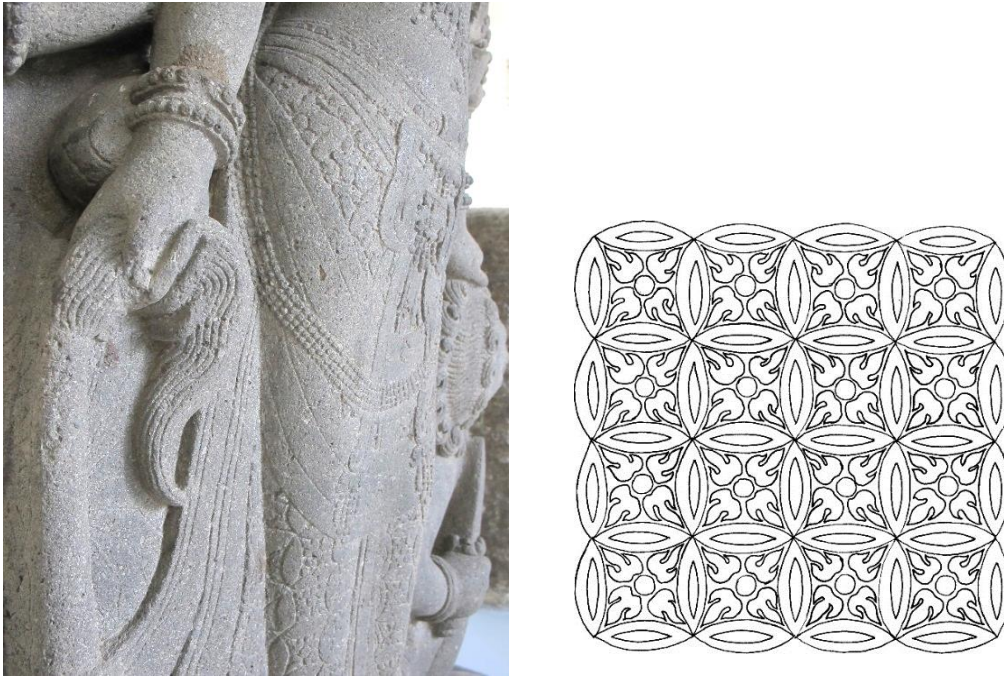


Fig. 3.89 Depiction of the lower limbs from the right side, indicating the plain sash, the ends falling to the side, Durgā holds the tail of the buffalo. Drawing of the textile pattern.

The *tribhaṅga*¹³⁰ movement depicted in the body of the goddess, is in sharp contrast to many sculptures from the same period which remain stiffly upright or the body bends in one direction only. We propose that this statue probably dates to the beginning of the 14th century which fits more closely with the Transition Classification. We have based this assumption on the textile pattern and the overall appearance of the statue. We propose a number of reasons to give the figure an earlier date, first is her smaller size compared to the Majapahit sculptures, second there is virtually no evidence of figures of Durgā in the mid to late 14th centuries. Having said this, her textile pattern does fit more closely with the Majapahit prevalence for the *kawung* motif. She is clearly neither Singosari nor Majapahit.

¹³⁰ The body bends in three directions, a common feature in many aspects of Indian sculpture

The last figure in stone Cat.61 is of Harihara- Ardhanari, who is believed to be the deified figure of King Kṛtanāgara (Fig. 3.90). The figure remains an enigma, the place of origin



Fig. 3.90 Cat.61 Kṛtanāgara as Harihara Ardhanari. SHM, St Petersburg.
Drawing of the lower body highlighting the textiles and ornaments.

of this statue is unknown, but was thought to be in the Malang vicinity.¹³¹ The sculpture was acquired by Germany from Dutch sources in 1861 along with that of Cat.44 (Stutterheim 1932:47).¹³²

The statue is decorated with finely chiselled ornaments and a multitude of belts. The *upavīta* is carved as a three strand pearl chain and drapes to the upper thighs finishing with a large clasp depicted beside the left breast. The Makara decoration appears at either side of

¹³¹ At a place called Sagala he was set up as a Jina in a subsidiary caṇḍi to Singosari, as the figure of Ardhanari and Vairocana and Locana in one statue. Nāg.43:5

¹³² Between the years 1945 and 1946 statues were acquired by the Russians and placed in the SHM. Along with the Mañjuśrī, both statues were placed in an exhibition at the SHM in the spring of 2016. A book cataloguing all the Southeast Asian sculptures in the Hermitage collection was published in Russian, Deshpande, O. 2016. *Works of Art From Southeast Asia*. St Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers.:389, Fig 337

the head falling on the shoulders (Fig. 3.90). The long sash ties at the side of the body with a knot, with one end on the backslab and the other to the side of the body. The *sinjang* is carved to represent three layers (Fig. 3.91), the long cloth appears to represent a textile wrapped around the body. At the right side it is folded over the left at the lower edge with a pleat in the fabric, in the typical style of a Javanese sarong. The second two shorter *kain* hang over the *sinjang*, at the front of the body the fabric appears tucked over one of the belts at the waist. The pattern on all three textiles appears in a grid-like ornament, rather than on the diagonal as in most cases, and is carved in a simple fashion, we suggest that the pattern may not have been finished.¹³³

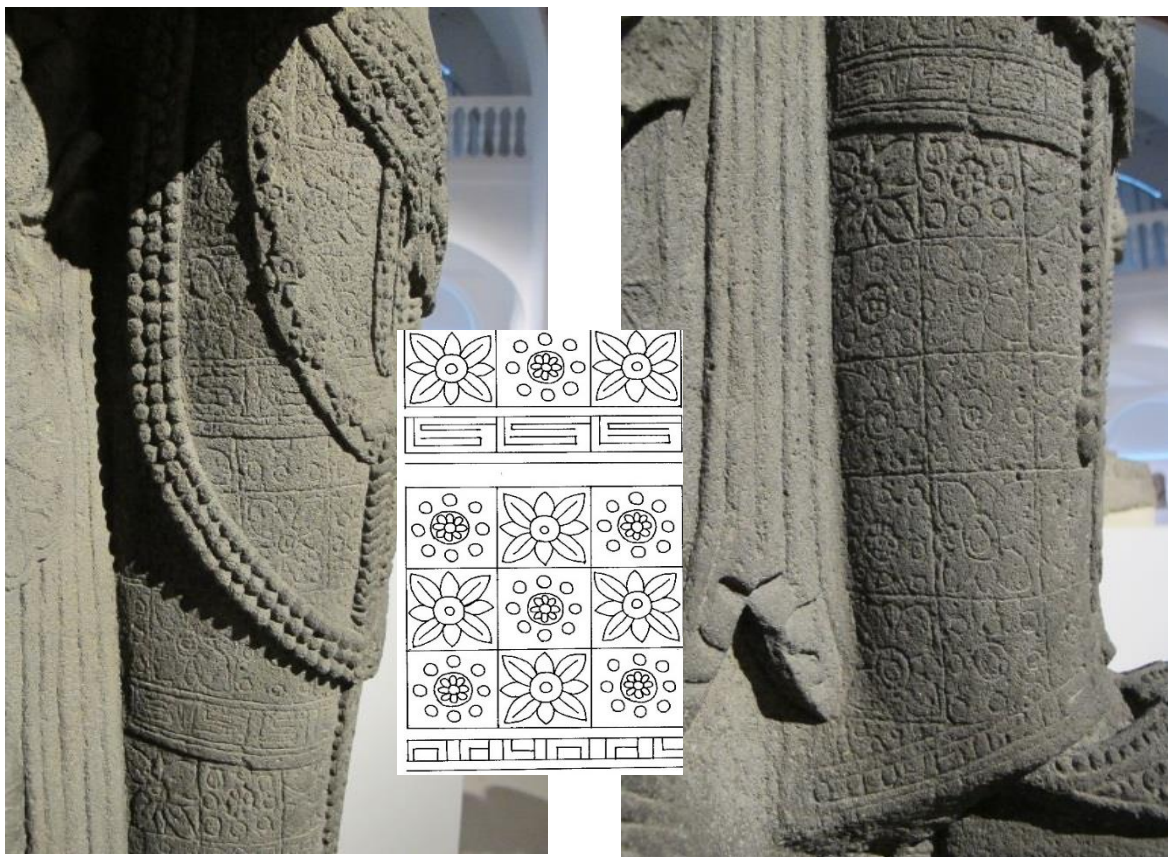


Fig. 3.91 Depiction of the lower limbs, indicating the long ends of the *sash* and the pearl upavīta. The three layers of the garments depict the same pattern with different borders. Centre, the drawing of the textile pattern of the *sinjang*.

¹³³ This is in comparison to the Tower Temple sculptures which differ stylistically.

The lower *kain* is carved with a border of small squares whereas the upper two *kain* appear with the same border pattern which represents a version of the *banji* or swastika pattern.¹³⁴ Van der Hoop has described the *banji* motif as a Chinese derived motif (Van Der Hoop 1949:64), but we could also interpret this as a 'meander or cloud border' used to indicate the edge of a garment, as suggested by Van der Hoop (Van Der Hoop:56). If we are to compare this *kain* to that of Cat.46 for example, the carving is relatively simplistic. It might be that the cloth was carved to replicate a brocaded fabric, another suggestion could be a cloth with a block printed pattern applied with gold leaf, known as *prada* (Fig. 3.93). The style and carving of the dress is perhaps an example of a real textile. A 20th century *batik prada* which is set with small flowers within squares, and the *batik banji* textile, both of which highlight the continuity and longevity of this auspicious design, to the present day (Fig. 3.92). There appear to be in our opinion, some esthetic parallels between the samples below and the 13th century textile. To present a clear definition of the pattern on the statue of Kṛtanāgara is problematic, however we propose that these two examples highlight the kinds of textile which could have



Fig. 3.93 Detail *Prada* Batik Java, 20th century, After V, Rivers.

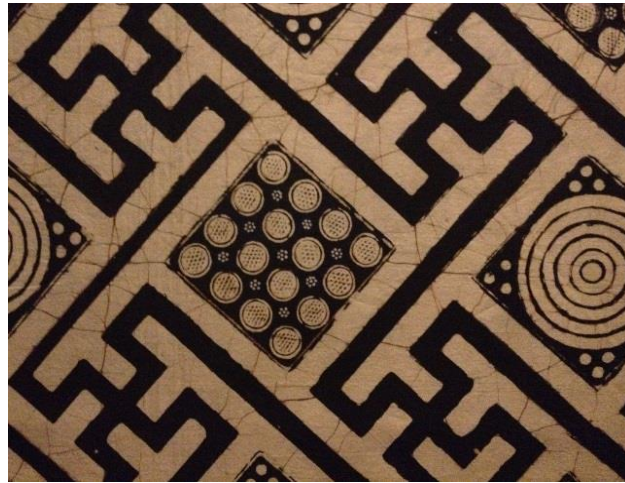


Fig. 3.92 Detail Batik banji c.1880, collection no. 66135, Wereld Museum, Rotterdam. Image from *Magie van de Vrouw*.Pg 295

¹³⁴ This motif is popular in Thailand and Bali and in Lao textiles. Fraser-Lu, S. 1988. *Handwoven Textiles of Southeast Asia*. Singapore: Oxford university Press. : 10. It is regularly used as a border pattern in batik and in central Java the *banji* pattern is modelled as an all over motif. The *banji* motif may well have been imported during this Hindu-Buddhist period from India, but in China it was seen as 'the motif of ten thousand'. The Balinese will uses this motif as a border pattern and cover a batik cloth with *prada*, gold leaf glue work. Warming, W. & M. Garwoski. 1981. *The World of Indonesian Textiles*. London: Serinda Publications.: 172

been in use at the time. The statue has only been published once since 1932 in an article by Stutterheim,¹³⁵ and he summarises his text on Kṛtanagara by saying:

“Thus, appears the portrait statue of the Javanese king, who believed himself to be like the Kublai Khan” ... “at the same time he was a man who devoted his entire attention to the secret teachings of the Tantrayana attaining the highest reaches thereof of any Javanese prince” (Stutterheim 1932:50)

Further support for this claim by Stutterheim is evident by the evidence of what appears to an extreme amount of tantric iconography depicted on a number of the statues from Caṇḍi Singosari.¹³⁶ A brief explanation of this statue is important in this instance, as he is the last figure in the Singosari and Transition style.

The (Nāg. 43:5-6) tells us of Kṛtanāgara in the place where he was buried as Śiva-Buddha with a Jina figure, the figure who is also Ardhanareśvarī and Vairocana-Locanā¹³⁷ in the one statue (ibid. 48, Robson and Prapanca 1995:56). Stutterheim continues to discuss the possibility of this statue being created in the likeness of Kṛtanāgara, taking into account that the burial places and associated statues of all the previous Singhasāri kings are already known. Therefore in Stutterheim’s opinion this particular figure is without doubt the commemorative statue of King Kṛtanāgara. He also surmises that surely this figure should have been placed with Cat.44, but as we do not know from which temple this figure originated this is only supposition, however, judging by the textile patterns and the way they are carved, differs considerably. A phrase from the Nāg. ‘*atyanta ring sobhita*’,¹³⁸ refers to the idea that not many ancient Javanese sculptures are modelled so perfectly or with jewellery and with such precision as this one (ibid. 49).

¹³⁵ Translated in full into English by Gosta Bergholtz.

¹³⁶ The association of Pārvatī, Durgā and (Cāṃṇudā, not included in this thesis) together represented the Śakti of Śiva. Due to a lack of space and the focus of this thesis is the textile patterns, further details on this subject is in Appendix 4 Chapter 5, on Pārvatī.

¹³⁷ O’Brien discusses the interment of Kṛtanāgara as the Buddha Vairocana which ties in well with the image of his father as Amoghapāśa, whose central position he occupied in Jago’s *maṇḍala*. She suggests the Javanese concept of ‘ideal kingship, is the importance of the right queen’ and the kings obligation to pursue that quest, since the queen is the person who embodies the fertility and good fortune of the kingdom. Langewis, L. & F. Werner. 1964. *Decorative Art in Indonesian Textiles*. Amsterdam: N.V.Boekhandel en Uitgeverij C.P.J. van der Peet. : 278. As a result of which we see Kṛtanāgara deified with his queen and as Vairocana, which leaves him as the most important of all the Javanese kings in this deified image. Admittedly this does not have any effect on his textile patterns, which do not show any signs of Tantric imagery.

¹³⁸ The literal translation of this term is ‘bright, beautiful, extraordinary’, reference from Eko Bastiawan, Appendix 3

To place this statue in Transition derives from his attributes and stance as a deified figure of a king, however we would maintain, the detailed descriptions and drawings of the textile patterns of this statue are an important addition to the Deshpande catalogue and the earlier Stutterheim article. We propose that this figure Cat.61 and that of Cat.17 share a similar esthetic, as kings deified in the form of a god. This portrait statue of the Javanese king, Stutterheim suggests, who believed himself to be like the Kublai Khan:

“at the same time he was a man who devoted his entire attention to the secret teachings of the Tantrayana attaining the highest reaches thereof of any Javanese prince” (Stutterheim 1932:50).

There are also a number of Singosari features depicted on this statue, but the most important is the depiction of the three layers of the *kain* and the unique textile pattern which is not at all in keeping with the later Majapahit styles of a purely *kawung* aesthetic.

3.9 Summary of Textile Patterns

A typology of textile patterns has been given in this chapter in the form of eight groups, which we hope has significantly contributed to our knowledge and understanding of the history of textile production in this period of east Java. There is an extraordinary variety and many individual characteristics, but also many similarities which have unified this group of sculptures. We have noted how each statue displays a unique and totally individual textile pattern, yet the patterns are often carved with the same hand which show a similarity in the style and type of patterns.

Sedyawati discusses the accomplishments of the Singosari craftsman, by suggesting this achievement of sophistication of carving was attained by a certain amount of authority given to the statue makers. She recalls Bernet Kempers, who states that the peak of beauty was reached during the Singhasāri period, as new influences were felt from India especially from Bengal.¹³⁹ However it is also possible to suggest these new influences were imported as

¹³⁹ North eastern Indian or Newar elements have long been noted in the statuary and decorative elements of east Javanese Buddhist art. Acri describes a diaspora of Newar artisans in the realm of the Sino-Tibetan, who became popular at the court of the Yüan emperor Khubilai Khan. This coincided at a time when the reign of Khubilai and that of Kṛtanāgara were parallel. It has been suggested that due to a number of inscriptions at Caṇḍi Jago associated with Kṛtanāgara, support possible links with Newar and Northeast India. Wisseman Christie, J. 1993a. Ikat to Batik? Epigraphic Data on Textiles in Java from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries. In *Weaving Patterns of Life, Indonesian Textile Symposium*, eds. M. L. Nabholz-Kartaschoff, R. Barnes & D. J. Stuart-Fox, 11-29. Basel, Switzerland: Museum of Ethnology.:21-22

a result of the increase in prosperity and influence of the Singhasāri. The wealth and prosperity enabled the leaders to become part of the international culture and trade which arrived from Bengal (Sedyawati 1994:256, footnote 6). If this is so, then as Acri states the Newar artists were at Caṇḍi Jago. Perhaps this is one option and a suggestion to explain how the unusual and unique textile pattern of roundels on Cat. 44 reached Java.

The most overriding feature that unifies the sculptures in the Singosari style, is the 'movement or expression' depicted in the form of the body, the 'plastic volume' created by the sculptor to indicate a certain realism of the anatomy of the human form. The smoothness of the andesite stone, the large size of the figures, which are seldom carved in the round, the artist choosing to carve the deity against a stone backplate.¹⁴⁰ There are also a number of distinguishing features, first the delineation of the *seléndang* across the upper body,¹⁴¹ and second, the flourish with which the cloth *sash* is carved across the hips, and flows with 'movement' to the side of the body. But to place the textile patterns in a historical timeline along with the sculptures is problematic. It is the apparent similarity in the andesite stone of the Singosari sculptures which links them together.

The broad variety of patterns depicted in this chapter we suggest indicates the high quality of craftsmanship and the noticeable evidence of international textile patterns which do appear in some instances to have influenced a number of the designs carved onto the sculptures. The textile examples in groups one to eight have been based on a certain similarity in design, pattern layout and general esthetic which show some clear comparisons to the Javanese sculptures to which they have been attached. Having said this it was important to keep certain groups of statues together if they originated from the same caṇḍi, for example, Group 4, depict skull and *kāla*-head imagery, but they also display, brocade patterns and *kawung* motifs.

The largest group of patterns are in the *ceplok* pattern category known as *kawung*, in a number of sculptures more than one textile is evident, but the *kawung* motif appears to be in the majority. The carving of rosettes for example as we saw in the central Javanese statues,

¹⁴⁰ The only statue we know in this category is the Prajñāpāramitā S.3 from Muara Jambi. See Volume 2, Catalogue, Sumatra and Appendix 1, Chapter Sumatra

¹⁴¹ A feature certainly taken from Pāla art, this feature is evident when studying late Pāla sculptures in the National Museum, New Delhi

are carved here much larger in size, and have taken on a sophisticated form with the addition of another pattern with a circular motif around a vegetal design.

The two sculptures in Group 5, Cat.58 and 59 are both are supposed to have originated from the caṇḍi Singosari complex, however one sculpture is in Transition and one in Singosari style, with virtually the same pattern. Our interpretation of this pattern was fairly simple in the case of Cat. 59 as the remains of the pattern was very clear, but in the case of Cat. 58 the pattern is all but obliterated by the addition of varnish and gilding. Therefore the draftsman has proposed that the layout of the textile design would be similar.

The two sculptures in Group 5, Cat.53 and 54, derive from Java and Sumatra respectively. As has been suggested by previous scholars, these statues were supposed to have been made in Java, however we strongly suggest that Cat.54 originated in Sumatra, carved with a pattern which shows a number of similarities with Chinese textiles and depicts suggested Buddhist iconography in the depiction of the large stylised lotus roundel patterns. Whereas we know Cat. 53 originated from Java and even with her Buddhist iconography, her textile pattern shows a far greater similarity to Balinese textile patterns or we suggest, perhaps similarities to past textiles from Central Asia.

The three statues in Group 3, all differ totally, apart from the fact their patterns are made up of consecutive roundels. The andesite stone differs and the style and type of the patterns bear no relationship to each other. Having said that Cat.44 with animal roundels, depicted with motifs which appear to reflect patterns from the past, some from walls of central Javanese caṇḍi's and some from central Asian designs. The sophistication of the carving on Cat.44 is in our opinion the most elaborate and complex of the entire group in this chapter. Whereas Cat.45 also depicted with animals in roundels, is reflected in earlier Indian textile paintings, from wall paintings in Pagan and from Central Asian roundel designs.

Bernard Bart described how the patterns on the three sculptures in Group 2 was made up of a complex design that was difficult to weave. For example to create such a repeat pattern so accurately with such fine detail, making each textile pattern on each statue a little different, took a skilled hand. The extraordinary similarity of the layout of these three patterns to current textiles from west Sumatra is uncanny, and we propose that in our opinion, these statues could have been the templates for some of the motifs we see on Minangkabau textiles today, as described on page 25. For examples See Appendix 3. Plate 15.

We have suggested a number of examples as representing a ‘*songket*’ or brocaded textile or made from *prada*, a gilded pattern. We have based this assumption on current examples of Malay, Javanese and Balinese textiles and the many patterns which are reflected in the sculptures. This is particularly evident in the sculptures in Group.4 and with most of the *kawung* patterns. We have based this assumption from the evidence we gained from the *Kidung* and *Kakawin*¹⁴² poems, which tell us of the use of these types of textiles during this period of history. Therefore we have made some suggestions that a number of the textiles could have been representing woven or gilded cloth with gold, considering the royal nature of the patron and the apparent importance given to the statues, gold is the material of choice of choice of kings. The phrase “adorned with canopies of red *lobheng lěwih grinsing*” painted with gold, “the carriage of the king, adorned with gold and glowing jewels” taken from the Nāg.18:4-5. On a journey into the countryside, meeting with Śaiva and Buddhist priests who gave gifts of food, the king repaid “with gold, clothing and titles”. Nāg.34:3 (Robson and Prapanca 1995:38 & 48)

Taking all of these ideas into consideration, suggestions can be made perhaps that the court of King Kṛtanāgara mastered the rules of religious statuary with luxury textiles. The creation of the figures in Group 4, include statues belonging to the Hindu triad, the grouping which often appears in many central and east Javanese caṇḍi (Lunsingh Scheurleer Juni 1998:4). However in our opinion none of the statues in previous caṇḍi are carved with textile patterns or are as grand and as imposing as these sculptures.

The six sculptures we have given the term Transition, cannot be defined by their textile patterns alone, as there is no one pattern or thread of a design which connects them together. Lunsingh Scheurleer has discussed the issue of where to place some sculptures which did not automatically fit into the Singosari style, she stated:

“A sculpture belongs to the Singosari Style when a connection can be established between it and a member of the Singhasāri dynasty, or the dynasty as a whole. A provenance from the Singosari site is not sufficient. Because styles develop, objects in the Singosari style may have been produced before or after the Singhasāri period” (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008:290).

¹⁴² Full information in Glossary 7.5.

Lunsingh Scheurleer presents many possibilities in her informative article which includes a number of the sculptures incorporated into this thesis. She has clearly marked out the Singosari style figures, and on the whole we would agree with her analysis and the conclusions drawn. However as she was working on the premise that we can only have two stylistic groups in east Java which fit into the two dynastic periods of Singhasāri and Majapahit, therein lies a problem. While recognising the physical style of these six figures is similar, their textile patterns differ considerably in their stylistic grammar. As Lunsingh Scheurleer has stated, the Singosari Style sculptures could indeed have been made before and after the Singhasāri period, but in some cases their features cannot be termed as Singosari. Clearly the key distinctive stylistic traits are of a stiff upright stance and a *mudrā* with hands together, a small depiction of the lotus plant, which appears not as the previous group but beginning to show the rigid traits of the following Majapahit group style, and an exuberance of elaborate ornaments especially the depiction of a three to five strand overly long *upavīta*, but the textile patterns do not display any type of grouping together.

We have established two stylistic classifications, Singosari and Transition. The Singosari style is a well-known description as has been quoted here from Lunsingh Scheurleer. Whereas Transition is a term we have created for a group of six sculptures which do not 'stylistically' fit into the previous group nor the following Chapter 4. The research carried out by Jessy Blom on the sculptures of the Singhasāri period does not refer to the textile patterns as a means of style recognition, she does however reference the ornamentation and the *mudrā*, as discussed in Chapter 1, but not as a means of style recognition (Blom 1939). Nandana Chutiwong's paper on Caṇḍi Singosari describes many sculptures from the Singosari site which "show clear stylistic features of the Majapahit period of the 14th centuries" (Chutiwongs 2004:118). She raises the issues of the figure Cat.45 which we have placed in transition. Stutterheim mentions the lotus plant and its particular depiction in the Singhasāri period versus the Majapahit period, the lotus growing without a pot at Singosari and with a pot at the Majapahit (Stutterheim 1932:50).

As a result of these anomalies the textile patterns themselves could not be placed into a template as there are too many variations. Furthermore, each individual figure represents a unique and exclusive textile pattern which have remained as visual templates from the 13th century until today. The key distinctive stylistic traits of an upright stance, the *mudrā* of the

lower two hands, a smaller depiction of the lotus plant, and an exuberant amount of elaborate ornaments especially the depiction of a three to five strand overly long *upavīta*, enable us to place them in the transition style classification. However the sculpture Cat.60 does not realistically fit into this group either, but remains on its own, and is the only statue in Chapter 3 which has not yet been published.

The textile examples presented in this chapter represent what could have been in circulation in east Java in the 13th century. Let's assume we knew what patterns they were, since some of the examples which remain today show strong often uncanny similarities with a number of the stone textile patterns. In addition, the evidence of traded textiles gained from Chinese sources is paramount, particularly from the Zhufanzhi and the Historical Notes on Indonesian and Malaya (Hirth and Rockhill 1965, Groeneveldt 1960). With this evidence and the stone patterns themselves we are able to build a picture which supports the theory that some of these textiles must have been in circulation in east Java at the time, even if we have drawn some comparisons which are not ultimately persuasive. In the case of the textile patterns on certain sculptures in Group.4, the evidence of skull designs themselves cannot be seen solely as an 'iconographic sign' of tantric activity at Caṇḍi Singosari. However it is quite clear that King Kṛtanāgara was a follower of esoteric rites and held "the *Gaṇḍakra*" or tantric feast. Nāg.43:3 (Robson and Prapanca 1995:55-56). So we have suggested that the skull and *kāla*-head textile patterns on this group of sculptures is unique and perhaps suggestive of more than tantric practices, but a reflection of the deep connection the ancient Javanese had to their ancestors and the past. Bearing in mind all the knowledge we gain from the Nāg. The text does not give us any further clues as to the types of textiles used in the 13th century, therefore we again turn to these sculptures as our only evidence.

To emphasise the importance of the sculptures, we are reminded of the many statues which were lost at sea when they were removed by the Europeans. Others were either stolen, damaged and destroyed or used as building blocks for local houses in the later years after the decline of the Hindu Buddhist period (Blom 1939:3). But the most important loss has been to the elements and on-site human destruction, for example the sculptures which remained outside in the grounds of Caṇḍi Singosari have all but lost their textile patterns and jewellery designs. The Cat.55 and 57 are a good example. If we compare the few statues such as these

two figures, which do remain outside to the greater number in museums, the results are palpable. However, the most obvious case is that of Cat.45 compared to Cat.44, 53 and 55.¹⁴³

The data gained from these fast-disappearing patterns creates a typology for the future as a reference to the remnants of the lost patterns of the past. Someday these figures will have completely disintegrated and there would have been no tangible record of the extraordinary detail carved on these sculptures. The principal question is, how do we identify a pattern as replicating a brocade fabric or *songket*, an argument for has been given on page 25 in the Minangkabau region and the argument against *songket* is harder to expand on as we suggest have suggested there was no alternative against this type of patterning, but this is expanded below. All we have to guide us are the statues themselves and the texts which we have referred to earlier.

Therefore as both Dode and Canepa have stated, the patterns we see on stone statues or reliefs, are reflecting the textiles in circulation at the time. They have proven this as a fact by the examples they have given. Therefore for us to do the same, to suggest that many of the statues are depicted with a *songket* textile, we have to use textiles from the present, rather than from a similar period in history (as none have remained in Java or in the Malay world). The *songket* textile examples in Appendix 3. Plate 15, highlight the many similarities in pattern layout and the ornament within the patterns. However if we look to the past and the imported block printed and mordant dyed cotton chintz textiles, as seen in Plate 14, there are also similarities in the pattern layout. So the argument can go both ways for cotton chintz from Indian or *songket* locally made, and for all the reasons we have argued so far, in this thesis we propose these statues are reflecting a brocade or *songket* textile.

To summarise, we refer to the often complex and dense textile patterns depicted on the sculptures from the 13th and 14th centuries, in contrast to the Indian renderings of the drapery and the linear and overall patterns with small flowers, circles and lines of the sculptures (Wisseman Christie 1991b:17) in Chapter 2. The differences are astonishing and with the use of the drawings presented in Appendix 2, the reader can view these extreme

¹⁴³ We would like to highlight the issues of statues which remain outdoors at caṇḍi sites such as this one. The site is visited by school children who clamber all over the sculptures and the Tower Temple itself, with the statues fully exposed to the extremes of the tropical climate. It is quite possible however that many more of the statues that remain outside exposed to the elements were decorated with textile patterns considering the general proclivity of decorating the sculptures during the late Singhasāri period.

differences at a glance. It is apparent from the analysis of the textile patterns on the sculptures in this chapter that the Javanese, absorbed, assimilated and imitated, to create distinct stylistic characteristics by which the sculptures and the textiles can be identified as Javanese. Realistically how can textiles be placed in time and what chronology of images would we get if we focussed on this information. Earlier studies of sculptures and of textiles have not at any point tried to group or place any of the textile patterns into a time frame. But when new statues are found and suggestions made such as those by Soekmono in 1969, we had only the sculptures themselves to date a particular style. He writes of a find at the village of Gurah in a Kaḍiri site, in which were found three deities and one Nāndi, all with a similar style to the Prajñāpāramitā at the NMI (Cat.53). He describes them as undeniably Singhasāri, with a number of features which are apparent but the most evident is the “ornamental girdle” and the loop of the cloth on the hips, perhaps indicating the bow of the sash. The deities are identified as Surya and Chandra (Soekmono Jakarta 1969:14-17). It is apparent from the article there was no mention of textile patterns on any of these sculptures. The sculptures now remain at the NMI with no identification plate to accompany them. In our opinion these statues could be in the Singosari style, despite the fact there are no textile patterns to go by, the most telling feature is the depiction of tiny beaded chains which hang from the *udharabhanda* the chest band, and from the upper arm bands, plus a faint marking of the *seléndang* across the body. Apart from these features, the carving of the statues lacks a certain sophistication in the execution of the carving to place them clearly within the Singosari style, which we have suggested in this chapter came about after 1269. This fact helps us in suggesting that it is only the Singhasāri sculptures realistically carved somewhere between 1269 and 1292 that are in the true Singosari style.

At the NMI are many sculptures of Durgā and of Gaṇeśa, none of which are carved with textile patterns. Only one statue of Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardīnī Inv. No 146, date 13th to 14th century comes stylistically close to the Durgā from the Singosari candi site, Cat.46. However she is depicted with a plain *sinjang* and a number of the aspects of her dress reflect those of Cat.46, but realistically we cannot place her in the same Singosari category as this statue at the MNI is much smaller in size. There is a Gaṇeśa depicted with skulls but carved as a relief stone, not a free standing figure. His Inv. No 187b/4828, dated plus or minus 13th century, he is depicted with a textile pattern and he appears to be wearing trousers as do the Gaṇeśa

Cat.49 and 50. However because of the andesite stone being of a rougher quality and the apparent lack of expertise of the craftsman, the pattern is indistinguishable, therefore this sculpture was not added to this thesis. Judging just from the style of the sculpture I would date him earlier at the end of the Kaḍiri and beginning of the Singhasāri period, Sedyawati places him in Singhasāri (Sedyawati 1994:343).

If we return for a moment to the only Kaḍiri style sculpture in this chapter of the Gaṇeśa Cat.38, it has been difficult to place a truly 'Kaḍiri' set of parameters to this style, as Sedyawati states:

“The Kaḍiri period shows a wider variety of styles than the statuary of Singhasāri, which shows a single, predominating formulation of traits”(Sedyawati:255).

To continue, Sedyawati also states that the statuary art style development reached its peak during the Singhasāri period. She summarises by saying that this richness was balanced by “harmonious composition and sophisticated technique” which was reached during the Singhasāri period (ibid: 256).

This chapter has included two sculptures from Sumatra which fit into certain stylistic characteristics of the textile pattern groups. For example Cat.54 fits in with Group 5 and Cat.52 fits in with Group 4. The two remaining sculptures which originated from Sumatra have been placed in Chapter 2 and in the following Chapter 4, as these fit stylistically by their textile patterns and date wise more closely than here in Chapter 3. It would be useful to say there was a Sumatra 'Style' but unfortunately this is not the case as there are too few sculptures to create a Sumatra Style, as each sculpture bears no relationship to the other by its find spot and suggested date. We would have like to have amended the dates of some of the Sumatra statues as judged by their textile patterns, which we have proposed in Appendix 1.

4 Majapahit, 1293 -15th century

This last group of eight Majapahit sculptures represent deified figures of kings and queens in royal attire, from their high crowns to the heavy ornaments on their ankles. The detailed pattern of the *sinjang kawung* repeating itself in slightly different variations on each sculpture indicates the reverence with which the Majapahit rulers held this particular motif. As Klokke has suggested, the presence of four arms is an unmistakably divine feature, (not apparent however on the royal couple Cat.66) with the attributes indicating the specific qualities of the various gods represented. The highest god is one who combines the visual attributes of two deities to express the oneness of these gods. This is Ardhanareśvarī, the highest concept of one god, joined as one in both male and female. A distinctive feature is, the stiff upright stance with downcast eyes in deep meditation, combined with the limited *mudra* of the lower two hands, in various forms of meditation. As suggested by Klokke, their deification led them to attain the highest spiritual knowledge (Klokke:190-191). Quaritch Wales has suggested that at the foundation of the Majapahit there was a resurgence of pre-Indianized culture, which appeared to have little reference to the Indian legacy of the past. This was evident in the culture of non-Indian gods and ancestors who appeared to reign supreme (Quaritch Wales 1977:89-90). It is to these 'ancestor' figures that we turn to in this chapter.

The carvings on these statues are executed in meticulous and extraordinary detail. Every bead of every chain, every metal plaque of every belt is rendered exactly as the original item the sculptor was replicating. The obvious large size of the ornaments befits the status as deified monarchs. The difference between sculptures of the 14th century to the turn of the 15th century is considerable. The differences between sculptures destined for important *caṇḍi* belonging to a Majapahit monarch and those of minor nobility is also considerable, from a refined and carefully carved statue with a smooth stone, clearly depicting a *sinjang kawung*, to one with a rough stone and no textile pattern

The statues were usually created to be placed in Commemorative *caṇḍi*, a *candi* in memory of a deceased member of the royal family. During the two hundred year period of the Majapahit the amount of *caṇḍi* built proliferated throughout east Java (Kinney 2003:215).

Many were built of soft brick, locally made, most of which have now disappeared, the ones which remain and those partially restored were built of stone as were the previous Singhasāri caṇḍi (Kinney:215).

The statues in this chapter, unlike the previous chapters will be ordered chronologically where possible during the mid-14th and early 15th centuries, as the textile patterns are all within two group types. Group 1 will include the ceplok patterns and Group 2 will include the miscellaneous patterns in Java and in Sumatra.

The practice of deifying the ancestors was known at the beginning of the 13th century during the Kaḍiri period and continued throughout the Singhasāri and Majapahit periods. The epic poem the *kakawin Sumanasānataka*, talks of the deification of royal ancestors (Hardjonagoro 1979:603), and discusses the cultural and social environment of the court. It tells us that when a queen dies prematurely she is transported to Indra's heaven where she becomes a 'royal ancestor' (Hardjonagoro:610). If her husband, the king dies first, the queen commits suicide and both king and queen are cremated at the same time. The poem recounts:

“They are deified as ancestors in the form of a god and goddess united, Ardhanareśvarī, and enshrined in a temple where their influence becomes ritually available to their ancestors” (ibid. 611).

The poem's author Mpu Monagaṇa recounts that royal power was considered incarnate in the person of the queen who was identified with Lakshmi, however the power of the god was embodied in the consort. Therefore the power of the king was embodied in his queen, as a consequence royal couples are imagined to be Ardhanareśvarī, the union of Śiva and his consort (ibid. 611). Klokke discusses the deviation from previous Indian norms in sculpture production, as seen in the great number of east Javanese sculptures created in the appearance as portrait statues of deceased kings and queens. It was assumed that this move away from the more 'Indian features' meant that statues were now being made to represent deified kings rather than gods. Klokke states that, it appears the statues were given crowns and not the matted hair or *jaṭā*, a characteristic of a god (Klokke 1994:180). A good example is the statue of Śiva from Caṇḍi Kidal Cat.34 (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008:287), in fact all the statues in this chapter are depicted with a crown.

This group of standing figures as the representation of the deification of a ruler in the form of a statue or stone image (Reichle 2007:114), appears to be a particularly Javanese occurrence. Arguments which were presented by both Brandes and Moens, where Brandes thought the descendants needed to honour the deceased with a statue. Meanwhile, Moens felt the statues were connected with the deliverance of the soul, the symbols of which would be indicated in such portrait images. These differences of opinion, compare to Stutterheim, who argues that the spread and custom:

“to worship rulers in the shape of images of gods – a custom unknown in India – must be due to the persistence of ancient, native-Indonesian views on ancestor worship by means of images and bone-relics”.(Stutterheim 1956:67)

These figures carved with textile patterns represents just a fraction of the sculptures created during the 14th and early 15th centuries. They are representative of the Majapahit style. Whether a sculpture is carved with a textile pattern or not, does not appear to alter the amount of jewellery depicted and the exuberance with which the statues are carved. The four to five pearl strand pearl *upavīta* and the overly long chain belts, are carved in deep relief, a distinct feature of the Majapahit style. It is interesting to note, that of the twelve Majapahit figures which are included at the end of Klokke’s book, none appear with a textile pattern (Klokke 1994:Plate 1-12), and of the many small and medium Majapahit sculptures which are in the museums of Java and Europe, they are also without patterns.

The notion of so-called ‘portrait statues’¹⁴⁴ has always been a point of division. We concur with Klokke that these statues are not ‘portrait statues’, but are images of deified kings and queens. The presence of four arms is without doubt a sign of a divine person, plus the attributes are the qualities of a certain god (Klokke 1994:190). The debate has continued over the recent centuries, and Klokke and Fontein have stated that it would be necessary to have more than one statue with the same facial features, to consider a statue to be of a portrait (Klokke:182, Fontein 1990:54). However while this theory may well be true, certainly in relationship to western portraiture where a likeness is always created, to illustrate this phenomenon in east Java is problematic. We do not believe these figures were meant to be

¹⁴⁴ Not a phenomenon known in the South Asian tradition of statues

‘portraits’ but carved as a certain monarch or nobility and deified in the guise of a god, or it is possible they selected to carve a chosen god to portray as the monarch.

So are the faces of the statue of a god or the faces for the most part of a deified monarch? There were indeed diverse Majapahit styles which by now had differed completely from the previous Transition and Singosari styles. Not only had the type of statue changed completely from the previous association with north Indian and the dominant affinities with a Javanese Buddhism, which was reflected in forms of Tantrism as seen during the reign of Kṛtanāgara (Casparis 1983:15-16). In the 15th century, Islam was already well established on the north coast of Java, at the same time there appeared to have been a strong resurgence of classical Hinduism. There were a number of inscriptions with a high standard of Sanskrit scholarship, de Casparis suggests that the Javanese were in contact with the Vijayanagar kingdom in the Deccan in India, and despite the lack of “direct cultural relations” between these two kingdoms, it would appear that the flowering of the use of Sanskrit in east Java would connect these two great empires during the 14th and 15th centuries (Casparis:17-18).

This brief historical background aside, we can show from the textile patterns and the carving of the facial features of the statues, that there was a remarkable difference in the east Javanese style of statues, but more so in the depiction of the textile patterns. This was clearly apparent in the jaw line of the Majapahit deity which often appears too heavy and the lips and nose too fleshy to be the refined features of a god, in comparison to the deities in the Singhasāri period. Group 1 (will not include Cat. 23 as there is no pattern on the *sinjang*, and Cat. 68 as it is a replica, but they are included in Appendix 1), we however propose two clear stylistic differences between the statues in this group. Some figures are large at two metres, whereas the further four figures are all on average one point six metres. The faces of this second smaller group differ considerably, the ornaments appear even more prominently from the body, and the *sinjang kawung* pattern has simplified. In fact if it was not for the breasts of Pārvatī there is no distinguishing features to identify a statue as male from female from either their dress style or textile patterns. Therefore, rather than portraits, the statues are certainly deified figures carved to follow the preferred aesthetics of the period, a definition to which we agree, in the words of Klokke:

“they represent figures who bear royal or divine features and are absorbed in meditation” (ibid. 188).

No exhaustive study to date has been made about these Majapahit sculptures as a group. However Klokke has given these Majapahit kings and queens ten features as part of an iconographical analysis (ibid. 184-186). Lunsingh Scheurleer has already defined the Majapahit style as different from the Singosari style, using the depiction of the ubiquitous lotus plant as a first means of identification (Lunsingh Scheurleer 2008:323). We would highlight that a number of statues which we have placed in transition, in Lunsingh Scheurleer work she is not appear to able to attribute to one style group or the other (Lunsingh Scheurleer:323).

The hard evidence which remains, that of the patterns on the stone and despite a lack of any archaeological reports or particular references to these textile patterns, supports the theory that textiles with designs of *kawung*, was possibly very popular during the 14th century. The choice of this pattern known as *sinjang kawung*, is a design of long standing as explained in Glossary 6.1.¹⁴⁵

4.1 Textile Terms used in the Majapahit

4.1.1 Sinjang Kawung

Bernhard Bart, in his recent article on *songket* weaving and stone patterns, has proven that it is entirely possible to make a *songket* woven with the *kawung* pattern exactly representing the stone patterns of the Majapahit sculptures. This cloth of gold woven with a supplementary weft thread produces a rich brocade fabric (Bart April 2016:17-18). During the Majapahit period in east Java and Bali, one of the most popular techniques was the use of gold leaf glue-work, known as *prada* or *perada*. We suggest that the term *sinjang kawung* which appears many times in the *kakawin*, could also be applied to the patterns on the statues as they applied to garments of the king's family and the minor nobility. The dress term describing the pattern, *sinjang kawung* on the statues appears as a luxurious heavy fabric over which are draped many large and long sashes and abundant ornaments. The *sinjang* represents a Javanese type of fabric and refers to the long cloth wrapped around the body and worn to the ankles depicted with a pleated fold at the front centre. Evidence of silk and

¹⁴⁵ An example of batik patterns which reflect the *kawung* pattern, from the 20th and 21st century have been placed in Appendix 3, Plate 16 to 17

cotton fabrics woven by the 13th and 14th centuries in east Java is written in the *sīma* charters.

At first it may seem difficult to give any substantive evidence as to why relatively few statues were carved with a *sinjang kawung* textile. We would maintain this is based on the level of royal patronage, as there is no evidence to suggest one way or the other as to why some statues were given textile patterns, when a greater number are left plain. Evidence highlights the prestige given to this dress term, but we would suggest this indicates that the statues which remain plain do not appear to have the same level of prestige. One exception to this is the figure of Pārvatī Cat.65 with a plain *sinjang*, yet we suggest she was evidently an important queen due to her large size. She will not be included here in Group 1 as there is no textile pattern, however she is included in Appendix 1, due to her importance as a statue.

Perhaps this statement by Bernet Kempers who describes how the close relation with the cosmos was an aspect of the architecture created by ancient Indonesian. He writes:

“There is a parallelism between the macrocosm and the microcosm which pervades everything. The division which seems to be perceivable in the macrocosm holds good also for the human world. This may be a division of 4 or 4 +1, into 2 or 2 +1, either separately or combined” (Bernet Kempers 1959:20).

As Kempers argues, this division of the macrocosm and microcosm also holds good for the human world, for example four points of the compass on the outer rim and one in the centre. A close examination of the *kawung* pattern shows the clear composition of this design which follows the concept of four outer points and one in the middle. We suggest this pattern and its deep rooted symbolism was only allowed by the highest authority, which might help us to explain further why there were so few carved statues of deified kings and queens. A further discussion on this subject is in Chapter 5.5.



Fig. 4.1 *Arenga pinnata*, cross section of the fruit

The drawing of the *kawung* pattern is similar to the cross-section of the areng palm fruit, *Arenga pinnata* (syn. *Arenga saccharifera*), when the fruit is cut and divided into two even parts. The enduring qualities of this fruit are most likely to have been the source of the *kawung* pattern in Java (Velduisen-Djajasoebrota

1980:212, Warming and Garwoski 1981:170).¹⁴⁶ The *kawung* design is also described as two seeds contained in each section, the seeds cut lengthwise and the resulting four sections are placed diagonally in each cube. We see this also depicted in the *ceplok kawung* batik design from 1985. When one considers the fact that the textile pattern in the BBKB ¹⁴⁷ book dated 1985, and the 14th century version are a few hundred years apart, the similarity between the two designs is remarkable. The *kawung* pattern and Java are synonymous in the Hindu Buddhist period. Nicholas Tarling states:

“Protection was the extreme duty of the kings, who were supposed to carry their beneficial activity after their life on earth by pervading, as it were, the intentions of their subjects”(Tarling 1992:310).

He continues that this passage illustrates the “idea of the deification of kings” (Tarling:310). However, Tarling as a historian does not discuss any of the ideas surrounding the connection with any of the so called ‘*kawung* like patterns’. The pattern did not appear to have any particular religious connotations but was connected to the spiritual cultures or perhaps their animist past in the countries in which it was used. As is evident, the pattern was not used by the Javanese alone.¹⁴⁸

Having argued for the theory of 4+4+1 in the construction and symbolism of the *kawung* pattern, we need to consider rival theories concerning the term batik, often used incorrectly. Therefore we will explore the background to the word. Hardjonagoro has discussed the philosophy of batik and its place in Javanese textile history. In the first instance, how do we define the term batik in Java? As a costume or dress material, or as a pattern, as part of the *ceplok* pattern group (Hardjonagoro 1980:224)?

The *kawung* pattern on stone has often been described as ‘batik’. Wisseman Christie argues that the patterns on 13th and 14th century sculptures are closer in style to ‘traditional batik patterns’ (Wisseman Christie 1991b:17). So here we are presented with a dilemma as to how to describe these patterns. Do we describe the design as a *kawung* motif but a batik technique, as Hardjonagoro suggests, but as we do not know when the technique of the wax

¹⁴⁶ We would suggest this interpretation is more likely referencing the modern age not during the Hindu Buddhist period.

¹⁴⁷ The Craft and Batik Centre of Research and Development Industrial Craft and Batik Yogyakarta 1985

¹⁴⁸ Refer to Glossary 7.1

resit method called batik was truly practiced in Java, batik, then remains an incorrect term to describe the *kawung* pattern when referring to the 13th and 14th centuries. The method of batik as practiced in Sunda in west Java and in Toraja in Sulawesi, was with rice paste and a bamboo nib method, which produced a very different far cruder batik pattern compared to the cloth we know today (Hardjonagoro 1980:224). Hardjonagoro continues to argue for the *kawung* motif being visible on the walls of Hindu Buddhist temples in central Java, but we lack any means of identifying the patterning technique. He also describes the same pattern produced in stone, “is it batik, or is it not?” But continues to state that batik was not seen as costume in the Hindu Buddhist period (Hardjonagoro:225). While recognizing we cannot prove the technique of a ‘stone’ pattern one way or the other, we have proposed and suggest that a cloth with a ‘*kawung*’ motif of some sort was being made at this time and worn by kings as suggested in the KH, where he wore a “*sinjang kawung*” (Sumaryoto 1993:37). This can be interpreted as a long cloth with a *kawung* pattern woven in the *songket* technique or created as a cloth finished as *prada*. Some textiles with specific patterns appeared to have protective properties, such as the *sinjang gěringsing kawung*. It was thought that if the king wore the *sinjang kawung* it enabled him to protect the world. Furthermore, it was thought that if he did not wear this cloth, not only could he not protect the world, he could not be king (Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff and Ramseyer 1991:120-121). As a consequence, it appears that all the sculptures decorated with a textile pattern in the late east Java period of Majapahit were possibly meant to represent the deified statue of the deceased ruler, who is inevitably depicted wearing a textile that could be identified as a *sinjang gěringsing kawung*.

4.1.2 Navagraha/Nawagrah or Nine Planet Pattern

We have discussed in brief the meaning of this textile pattern term in Chapter 1.3.4, but would like to at this stage deliberate this term in a little more detail as it is particularly relevant to the Majapahit sculptures in Group 1 presented here. Wisseman Christie describes a selection of the types of cloth granted to recipients of *sīma* charters from the mid-11th century until the end of the 14th century. No charters appear to be the same, however some 10th and 11th century charters were re-issued again in the 14th century. We would like to refer to the terms used, such as the *nawagraha* or nine planet pattern, and the term *tinulis ring mas tawar*, garments painted in gold and *tinulis ing mas*, apparel painted in gold (Wisseman Christie 1991b:27-28, Wisseman Christie 1993b:208-209). These terms appear not

to be mentioned before the 11th century during the early east Javanese period. It is also evident from the research presented in this thesis that textile patterns with a *nawagraha* pattern do not appear until the Kaḍiri period with the only evidence on Cat.38. This is supposing that the *nawagraha* pattern is an early term for the *kawung* perhaps, or the *jilamprang* or *patola* motif. Despite the uncertainty of the terms to be used in the 12th and 13th centuries for the textile patterns on the stone, we can safely propose that by the 14th century the kings were wearing a *sinjang kawung*, perhaps also with the *nawagraha* pattern and perhaps apparel painted in gold, *tinulis ing mas*.

The sculptures in this next group are few, nevertheless they represent the height of statuary in the Majapahit period, compared to the many hundreds of smaller often less well carved and without textile patterns which are attributed to the Majapahit period. Most of these smaller statues are dated 14th to 15th century. However one particular fine deification statue of Viṣṇu Ardhanareśvarī at the SHM in St. Petersburg, fully fits with the Majapahit style, from the quality of the carving I would suggest it was in an important caṇḍi, but there are no textile patterns depicted on the *sinjang*. There are two other Majapahit statues at the SHM carved in a rougher andesite stone, the features not so fine and with no textile patterns. This highlights the rarity of the carved textile patterns in the Majapahit period.

4.2 Group 1. Ceplok Patterns

This large stone statue of a Dvarapāla Cat.62.¹⁴⁹ (Fig. 4.2) is one of two similar statues accompanied on either side by a comparable small female attendant who also stands on the skull base.



Fig. 4.2 Cat.62 Dvarapāla. Caṇḍi Panataran, right of the entrance steps

Wrapped around the torso is the *upavīṭa*, defined as a large realistic snake, the damaged head rearing on the left shoulder. Tied around his waist is a metal belt fastened with a fabric sash. The sash replicating a woven material, is decorated with applied metal plaques and pearls or gold beads. The sash hangs to the ankles with an overly large and detailed tassel representing a gold ornament possibly with jewels (Fig. 4.4), the second belt is decorated with looped pearl chains and finishes at the front of the body with a large detailed *kāla*-head buckle. This chain belt with looped pearls is apparent on a number of the Majapahit and Singhasāri sculptures.

¹⁴⁹ Whether this was their actual original position is unknown, I suspect they have been moved from somewhere else.



Fig. 4.4 Detail of the lower legs, showing the heavy drapery of the *sinjang kawung*, and the jewelled belt. Below, drawing of the sash pattern

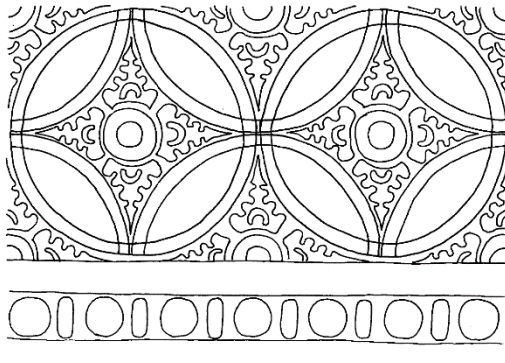
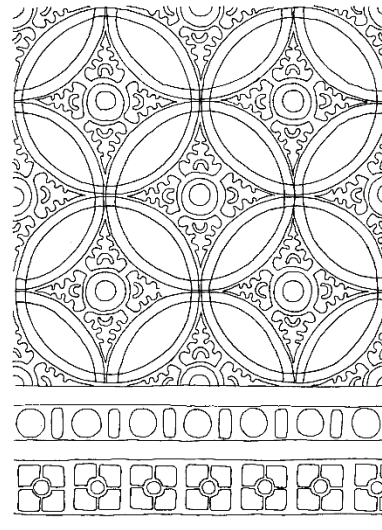


Fig. 4.3 Details of the *sinjang kawung* and sash. Below, drawing of the *sinjang* textile pattern.



The female attendants on the outside of each main figure are dressed identically to the Dvarapāla with a similar *sinjang kawung*. The attendants do not wear the snake *upavīta* but a four strand pearl chain. Both statues are carved with a short cloth overlaying the *sinjang*. The *kawung* pattern is visible on both textiles each with a different border (Fig. 4.5). Two broad sashes drape over the upper thighs one on top of the other, these appear to be tied at the rear with an overly large knot, the ends of these sashes falling the full length of the sculpture. The *sinjang kawung* is clearly visible on the reverse of the guardian, where the chain belt is well-defined indicating large gold plaques or *batu*. This temple is not dedicated

to a particular guardian but functions as a state temple, consecrated to Śiva (Kinney 2003:180), as indicated by the skull and crescent moon in the hair of the guardian.

Cat.63 is carved from a smooth andesite stone representing the figure of Harihara as a deified a King, and image which is not unusual in east Java (Fig. 4.5). Another such statue is placed in the Airlangga Museum in Kaḍiri and stands at 2.40m. The iconography is very similar to this statue of Keṭtarājasa, however the *sinjang* remains plain, and the quality of the ornaments is inferior to that of Cat.63. This statue was believed to represent King Keṭtarājasa Jayawardhana, the statue was found in the ruins of Caṇḍi Sumberjati also known as Caṇḍi Simping. It was believed to be the commemorative caṇḍi of the first Majapahit king and son-in-law of King Kṛtanāgara, (Nāg. 70:1-2). It was also thought the figure of Queen Tribhuwana as Pārvatī was the companion of this statue (Kinney 2003:219). Although Kinney bases this fact on the similar size of the statue, the comparable jewellery and details of their clothing, in theory we would claim there are a number of differences, therefore we would not describe these two figures as a 'pair'. Arguably the lack of a textile pattern on Queen Tribhuwana Cat.64, with only a carved textile pattern on the areola behind her head, remains the key difference.

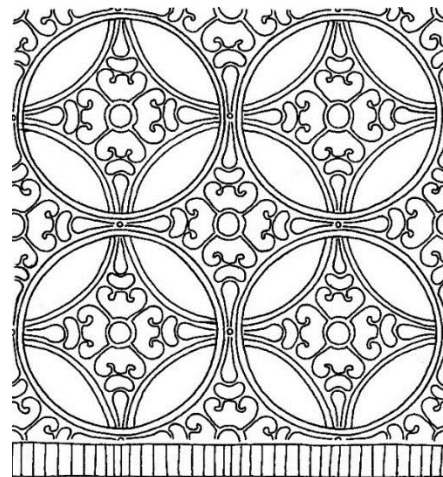
He is decorated with a profusion of elaborately and meticulously modelled ornaments. The tall heavy looking crown has a diadem tied with ribbons caved on the backslab. The earlobes are enlarged with heavy earrings recalling gold work, and he also wears clearly defined multiple necklets, double upper arm and triple bracelets, however the anklets are damaged. The *seléndang* is carved in the typical east Javanese style. The long *upavīta* as a string of four stands of pearls drapes across the upper thighs. The chain is interspaced with two elaborate clasps, one on the chest and the second on the upper thigh. Around the waist are tied a number of metal and jewelled belts, the rendering of the belt clasp is extremely fine. The chain belt ties at the waist falls to the ankles with a large detailed tassel, the secondary belt ends are probably made to depict gold plaques linked together, both consorts appear identically dressed to the central figure.



Fig. 4.5 Cat.63 Harihara as King Keṭarājasa Jayawardhana. MNI, Jakarta



Fig. 4.6 Detail of the lower legs, depicting the chain belt and the *sinjang kawung* pattern. Drawing of the textile pattern



The fabric of the *sinjang kawung* is depicted folded over at the waist (Fig. 4.5), where the pattern is clearly visible above the many belts. Draped over the upper thighs are two broad sashes, these are tied with a large knot with the ends arranged in neat folds, the pattern carved on the sash is identical to that on the *sinjang* (Fig. 4.6). The example shows interlocking circles with double borders, the motif in the centre of each circle consists of a vegetal pattern finished with a simple border.

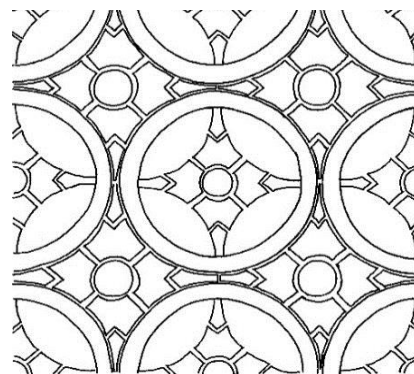
The next stone sculpture is of a far rougher quality compared to the previous two statues. It represents a deified queen as a statue of Pārvatī, Cat. 65 the caṇḍi origin or temple association unknown (Kinney 2003:218) (Fig. 4.7). Depicted at the side of the body are two broad *sash* tied with a large knot, the two ends of cloth which fall almost to the ankles with carefully drawn folds, the pattern carefully drawn so the fabric appears to be folded over. The statue is decorated with a profusion of carved ornaments, around the waist are a number of metal and jewelled belts most notably are the detailed clasps, another belt represents gold plaques which ties at the waist and falls to the ankles with a large detailed tassel (Fig. 4.7).



Fig. 4.7 Cat. 65 Figure of Pārvatī as a queen
MNI Jakarta,



Fig. 4.8 Detail of lower legs showing the long belt and the *sinjang kawung* pattern. Drawing of the textile pattern



The male consorts attending the queen appear rather worn but are dressed in similar fashion to the main figure. The pattern on the main figure consists of the *sinjang kawung* comprising large juxtaposing circles with a double border, the centre of each circle is

made up of four semi-circles and a geometric pattern based around a small central circle. (Fig. 4.8).

This next grouping Cat.66 is considerably damaged, however the existing stone surface is smooth and of a fine quality andesite. It has been described by Kempers as “royal personages as a god and goddess”(Bernet Kempers 1959:89, fig. 262). This royal or divine couple (Fontein 1990:170) depict the female sitting on the left thigh of the male (Fig. 4.9).



Fig. 4.9 Cat. 66 Divine or royal couple, NMI, Jakarta. Left detail of the *kâla* head on the upper right side of the backplate.

Carved at the upper right side of the backslab is a detailed *kâla* –head,¹⁵⁰ the *kâla*-head figure would also have been placed on the other side of the sculpture, a feature unique

¹⁵⁰ The *kâla* in Sanskrit means time or death. Originally was a lion's face, in a stylised demonic form, who assumed a demonic character. He appears with long fangs and the tip of his tongue folded back into the mouth, the head surrounded by swirling vegetation. Fisher, R. E. 1993. *Buddhist Art and Architecture*. London:

to this sculpture. Given that the characteristics of the faces are highly personal, this statue in our opinion is a 'portrait' carving of a royal couple rather than a divine or deified couple. Fontein describes the:

“Informal human quality of the statue must have prompted the idea that it is an example of a portrait sculpture, representing a royal couple united with the gods upon death” (Fontein:170)

Fontein continues by stating there is no local oral tradition of connecting this statue to a royal couple as there has been no trace of any structure in the area.



Fig. 4.11 Detail of the *sash* at the side of the body depicting the *kawung* pattern

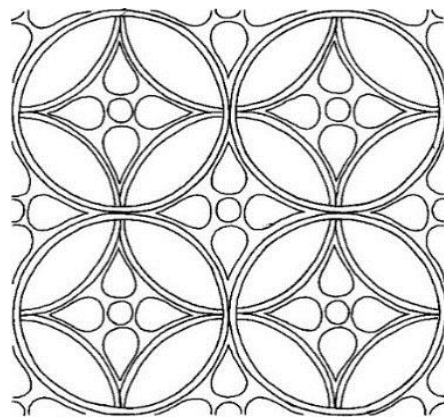
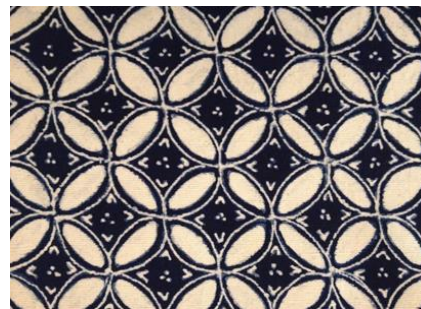


Fig. 4.10 Drawing of the textile pattern. Below, Batik cap, Pekalongan, Dudung. 2012



The rendering of both statues is well conceived and meticulously carved with a profusion of elaborate ornaments, all of which remain visible. The earlobes are enlarged with heavy earrings recalling gold work. The fastidious detail on both male and female is apparent in the multiple necklets which differ on each statue, and the double upper arm and triple

Thames and Hudson. : 91 Fig. 74. The description from the Norton Simon catalogue exactly fits this stone *kāla*-head on the royal couple.

bracelets. The *upavīta* is carved as a five strand string of pearls which falls and drapes on the lower legs, and along each strand is an embellishment of different types of ornaments. A number of metal belts are tied around the waist, with a chain belt also ties at the waist and falls the length of the body between the legs onto the lotus base with an overly large tassel. Both figures are carved with a *sinjang kawung* clearly noticeable at the ankles. Despite the damage, the textile pattern is evident on the legs of the female and on the sash at the right side of the male¹⁵¹ (Fig. 4.11). The patterns consists of a series of simply carved double circles which overlap with each other, the circles are made up of vesica. In the centre of the circles are four tear-drop motifs around a central circle. This very simple yet sophisticated rendering of the *kawung* pattern, is clearly reflected in this modern batik textile (Fig. 4.10). The design reflects the layout of the *kawung* motif on the *sinjang* and the *sash*, and illustrates the continuity and longevity of this pattern until today, however we have suggested earlier in this chapter that in the 14th century textiles would probably have been decorated with gold or woven with gold thread. Both sculptures are probably depicted wearing a sash, as a large knot is discernible at each side, around the neck of the knot is a detailed beaded ornament¹⁵² the two ends fall, one to the lotus base, and one seen depicted on the backslab. The meticulous detail in which this sculpture is carved and executed is outstanding, especially in the crafting of the dress and ornaments on both figures. Bernet Kempers states: “the jewellery following the curves of the body and so many more details, give proof to the artist’s great talent” (Bernet Kempers 1959:89, fig. 262)

The idea of a god and goddess seated together is by no means unique to Java, as this grouping is well known in similar groupings of divine couples between the 10th and 12th centuries in Pāla art (Fig. 4.12). However as there are no textile patterns and only simple ornamentation on these Pāla figures, we propose this would indicate the royal status of the Javanese couple. Fontein suggests that the mirror held by Pārvatī in the central figure of (Fig. 4.12), is also possibly held by the female in the Javanese group in her damaged upper left hand as indicated by the angle of her elbow (ibid. 170). However, in the South Asian

¹⁵¹ Much of the detail of the dress and ornaments is not visible in these photographs, due to the limitations of space we have not been able to include any further detailed images. This sculpture along with the rest of the figures in this chapter have been studied close up and at length in the MNI, over a period of three field trips to Java.

¹⁵² A feature seen on many Singosari sculptures.

convention Pārvatī would look at her partner or forward as in the Assam sculpture, whereas the Javanese female is looking away. This would highlight another reason to suggest this is a royal couple, despite the *prabhāvali* and not a figure of Śiva and Pārvatī.¹⁵³

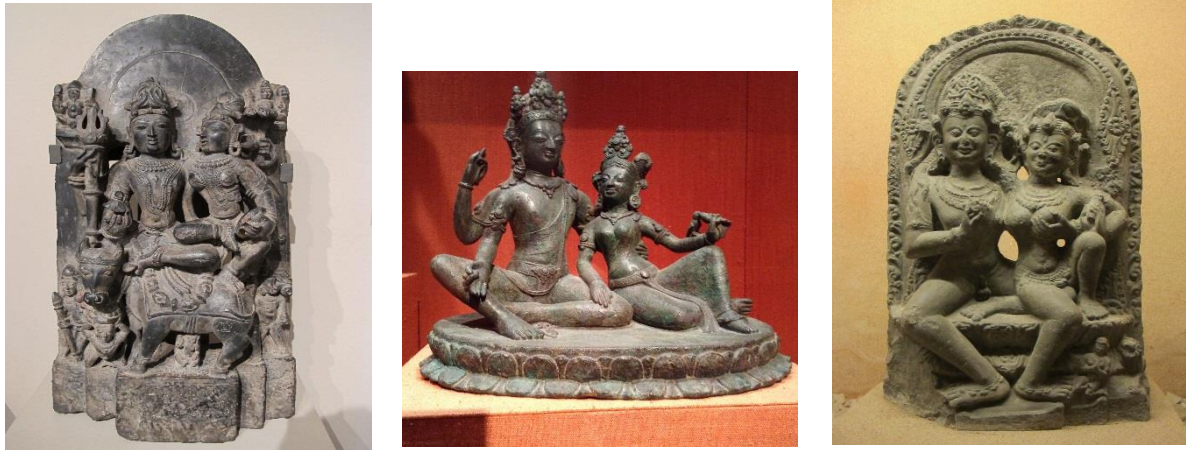


Fig. 4.12 Groupings of divine couples 10th -12th century, Pāla art. Left, The State Hermitage Museum, centre, Metropolitan Museum, right, Assam State Museum.

This small stone statue Cat.67 is not so finely carved as the previous figures, she is believed to represent a member of the royalty, there is however one such similar statue Cat.68 in the MMA.¹⁵⁴ The figure (Fig. 4.14) is flanked on either side by her children, Gaṇeśa and Kartikkeya or Skanda,¹⁵⁵ the whole grouping depicted standing upon Śiva's vehicle, the bull Nāndi. The statue wears a *sinjang kawung*,¹⁵⁶ the pattern of a simple design of overlapping circles is made up of four vesica. The centre of each circle constitutes a four-leafed vegetal motif (Fig. 4.13). Draped over the thighs and knees are two plain *sash*, carved

¹⁵³ In discussion with Christian Luczanits, SOAS, November 2016

¹⁵⁴ The authenticity of this statue in the MMA is on our opinion doubtful. We make this assumption for the following reasons. First, the overly large size at 2.3m is unusual for Majapahit sculptures, second, there is no sign of wear or damage to the statue or wear on the surface of the stone. Third, the gaṇeśa on the right is depicted standing on one leg, there are no such examples of a gaṇeśa standing on one leg in Javanese iconography, he is always depicted seated with feet together as in E.26. Last, the figure on the left is presumed to be Skanda or Kartikkeya the son of Śiva. Elgood, H. 1999. *Hinduism and the Religious Arts*. London and New York: Cassell. : 55. In this instance he is depicted as an older man with a beard, holding a lotus stem and an unidentifiable object in the right hand. It in our opinion the iconography of the two accompanying deities do not fit into the late east Javanese parameters. However it is interesting to note the textile pattern fits exactly with the general pattern on the *sinjang kawung*, but a slightly more sophisticated version of Cat.67. A close observation of the stone indicates a white 'powder' has risen to the surface, highlighting there are some issues with the quality and authenticity of the stone.

¹⁵⁵ There is no evidence of a *vāhana* for either deity.

¹⁵⁶ The contemporary batik examples presented here, clearly show the continuity of this apparently much loved Javanese motif.

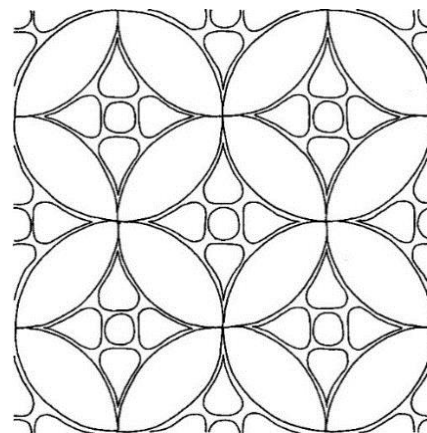
in deep relief. The sashes are carved with a flourish depicted with a large knot, one end clearly flying upwards and the other falling to the side of the body. The contemporary batik textile example demonstrates how the *kawung* pattern on this statue is replicated into a modern textile (Fig. 4.13), indicating once again the longevity of this popular and auspicious pattern.



Fig. 4.14 Cat. 67. Pārvatī on a bull, MNI, Jakarta.



Fig. 4.13 Detail of the lower body showing the cloth *sash* on the backslab. Below, drawing of the textile pattern. Left, Contemporary batik tulis, Jogjakarta, image from Eka Rusdianawati



Fastidious detail in the carving is apparent with the multiple necklets, double upper arm bands and triple bracelets. The long *upavīta* as a string of four strands of pearls drapes to the upper thighs with a simple clasp between the breasts. Around the waist are any number

of belts depicting metal with jewels joined with an overly large buckle, from the edge of the belt are looping pearl chains.¹⁵⁷ Another long belt ties at the waist and falls just to below the knees with a large metal tassel. The two accompanying figures also appear decorated with jewellery. Falling between the breasts is the *upavīta* as a string of four stands of pearls. The whole chain drapes to the upper thighs and finishes with an excessively large clasp which lies between the breasts, around the waist are tied a number of metal and jewelled belts held with a detailed buckle reflecting jewels. The long belt ties at the waist the chain evidently representing a series of reticulated metal plaques, the long ends finishing at the ankles with a finial signifying metal work or gemstones.

The last stone sculpture in this group Cat.69 is of a rougher quality andesite, the statue represents that of Śiva Mahadeva.¹⁵⁸ (Fig. 4.16) The date of late 14th to early 15th centuries, indicates the continuity of this pattern through the 14th century, with no other textile configuration having been introduced. Draped over the thighs and knees are two patterned sash carved with the *kawung* pattern. The sash are tied at the side of the body with a large knot, the two patterned ends realistically but stiffly falling beside the body. The rendering of this statue has lost the intricate realistic detailing of the previous Majapahit sculptures. The *sinjang kawung* once again carved in a schematic fashion, with a series of vesica joining at the points to create a circle. Within the circle is a leaf design (Fig. 4.15), however this pattern is rendered with a little more detail than the previous sculpture. Falling between the breasts is the *upavīta* as a string of four stands of pearls. The whole chain drapes to the upper thighs and finishes with an excessively large clasp which lies between the breasts, around the waist are tied a number of metal and jewelled belts held with a detailed jewelled buckle. The long belt ties at the waist the chain evidently representing a series of reticulated metal plaques, the long ends finishing at the ankles with a finial representing metal work or gemstones.

¹⁵⁷ This type of jewellery is also visible on a number of Tibetan paintings, for example the figure of Vajravārāhī from Western Xia, Khara-Khoto of the late 12th -13th century at the State Hermitage Museum, is decorated with a pearl chain belt and pearl chain upper arm bands. This feature is also typical in a number of earlier Singosari sculptures, such as that of Prajñāpāramitā E.2 and the headless Prajñāpāramitā at caṇḍi Singosari who clearly shows pearl upper arm bands.

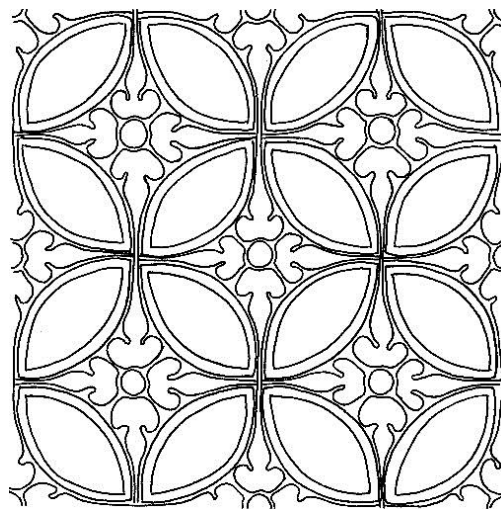
¹⁵⁸ Information gained from the label attributed to the sculpture at the MNI.



Fig. 4.16 Cat. 69. Śiva Mahadeva as a king MNI, Jakarta



Fig. 4.15 Detail of the *sinjang kawung* at the side of the body indicating the ends of the sash. Drawing of the textile pattern.



4.3 Group 2. Miscellaneous Patterns

The figures of Bīma and Kertolo are part of the Panji stories, indicate the end and very sudden collapse of the Majapahit, as a result the number of deified figures ceases and the types of textile patterns changed, with no further evidence of the *kawung* motif. Figures such as these two became very popular as the Panji stories were represented in stone statues,

relief carvings and in *wayang kulit* figures. However by this stage the type of textiles worn and patterns created became a complete departure from the previous deified kings and queens.

The small stone figure of Cat.70 is of Bīma (Fig. 4.17), who is seen as the mighty protector and mediator, and represents one of the key characters in *wayang kulit* shadow theatre drama (Duijker 2010:37). The statue Cat.71 is approximately the same size and quality of stone to that of Bīma, the figure is of Kertolo, stylistically they appear in the same category (Fig. 4.18), with the morphological details on both figures appear particularly interesting.



Fig. 4.17 Cat.70. Bīma, MNI, Jakarta. Right, detail of his loin cloth with the chequered pattern, drawing of the textile pattern. Below, poleng textile from Bali. Pullen collection



The loin cloth on Cat.70 ties around the waist and falls as a narrow band between the legs, on Cat.71 the overly long arms of the statue reaches to the knees, the legs bare and the loin cloth open to one side to reveal the bulge of the genitals. Both figures have open eyes, a 'handle-bar' moustache and a pointed nose. Note the snake style ornaments on Cat.70 depicted wound around the neck and wrists. The heavy ear ornaments or *sumping* are

depicted as a 'plug', the hair is dressed in a bun known as *gĕlung*. His loin cloth¹⁵⁹ is sometimes depicted as plain, in this case it is carved with a chequered pattern (Duijker 2010:51) with a *polèng*¹⁶⁰ design. The cloth is gathered at the front and at the rear of the body and hangs down between the legs to the ankles. He wears the cloth as a remembrance of his initiation, the carving is in deep relief, suggesting a heavy or folded woven cotton textile standing proud of the body.

The hair of Cat.71 is also dressed in a bun or *gĕlung*, around the upper arms is a snake ornament, carved ornaments also appear around the lower arms and to the neck. The earlobes are enlarged with heaving ornaments and the simple loincloth is worn tightly around the waist, the only decoration is a border pattern along the lower edge, depicting small circles and a pippal leaf shape, the pattern probably woven into a cotton textile, or embossed in gold (Fig. 4.18).



Fig. 4.18 Cat.71. Kertolo, MNI, Jakarta. Detail of the patterned loincloth, and drawing of the textile pattern.

¹⁵⁹ Duijker calls this garment a sash or *sabuk*, however, in this thesis, this garment does not represent a sash, by its very nature it protects the loins, hence we call it a loincloth Duijker, M. 2010. *The Worship of Bhima, The Representation of Bhima on Java during the Majapahit Period*. EON Pers.Pg. 51

¹⁶⁰ In Bali the most famous expression of dualism is found in the *poleng* cloth, represented by its black and white checks. The cloth is deemed to have a protective power and is worn in processions to deter evil spirits. It is also the cloth of choice of warriors such as the Pandava hero Bīma. Ibbitson Jessup, H. 2004b. *Motif and Meaning in Indonesian Textiles*. In *The James HW Thompson Foundation Symposium*, ed. J. Puranananda, 31-46. Bangkok: River Books.:39

These last two stone relief figures carved in a yellow andesite, originate from Padang Lawas in west Sumatra (Fig. 4.20), and have been added here to highlight the continuing use albeit in a small way of a carved textiles. In this instance both figures are depicted wearing a loincloth as are the previous figures. Cat.72 includes two bas relief figures of dancers with



Fig. 4.20 Cat.72. Bas relief of dancers with demonic faces. NMI, Jakarta. Left, male dancer and drawing of the loincloth. Right, dancing bull and drawing of the loincloth.

demonic faces. The male dancer wears a type of short hip cloth probably tied at the back (unseen), the fabric represented would have been quite stiff as the double U shape at the top indicates a brocade of some sort. The motif on the *kain* is one of circles juxtaposing with each other, the pattern of a trefoil or perhaps a simple type of *vajra*. The dancing bull figure



Fig. 4.19 Dancing figure at a annual religious Bhutanese festival or *tschechu* in a dzong, Bhutan, 2008

appears to be wearing a *kain* in the style of a south Indian *dhoti* on what appears to be the back of the figure, as his head is twisted head around in an energetic dancing pose (Fig. 4.20). The double U shape is depicted as a heavy cloth with a double band at the top and the motif of a scrolling pattern set within vertical lines.

These patterns are unique to this set of sculptures and appear nowhere else in Sumatra or Java. As an example of the source perhaps and inspiration behind these figures, we look to dancers at tantric ceremonies in Tibet and Bhutan (Fig. 4.19) who wear such masks. An example of a bull

who when he appears as the servant of Yama, represents the god of death (Haulleville 2000:50).¹⁶¹

4.4 Summary of Textile Patterns

Tantrism is undeniably a force in east Java and the impact was considerable as we saw the evidence in a group of Gaṇeśa depicted with skull and *kāla*-head textile patterns. However as we turn to the last phase of the Hindu Buddhist period here in the 13th and early 14th century in east Java and to a lesser extent in Sumatra, the evidence of tantric activity as depicted in the textile patterns has ceased. The only images of skulls appeared on Cat.62, but not in the textile pattern, from this stage on we have only seen the *sinjang*, the long Javanese hip wrapper depicted with a *kawung* motif. Until we reach the end stage of the Majapahit when all large statues of deified kings and queens cease and there is a resurgence of ancient Javanese practices and statues of Bīma and Kertolo appear. A number of these apart from the statues in this thesis still exist in good condition, but the evidence of a textile pattern is no more or less than we see here. Any evidence of the *kawung* pattern only then re-emerges in the 17th and 18th century in the courts of central Java, as the *kawung* motif is based on a group of circles,

“As the central Javanese believe that the circle symbolises the world or universe, the motif was once one of the restricted patterns reserved for the ruler and his immediate family”(Warming and Garwoski 1981:171).

This theory we have discussed in this chapter and in the Glossary 7.1, so we can safely conclude that when the Hindu Buddhist period ceased the apparent use for the *kawung* pattern also ceased. Therefore we can suggest that this ubiquitous Javanese textile pattern was of enormous importance to the ancestors of the present day people of central Java. However in east Java there was not a resurgence of court life as there was in central Java, so the popularity in textiles produced in this region did not re-look to the *kawung* motif, but to Chinese and indigenous inspiration for their textile patterns. We have little evidence from this period and virtually extant material remains.

¹⁶¹ There are no existing palm leaf manuscripts in Sumatra which indicated the existence of Tantric rites in Sumatra, hence the sculptures and relief panes are our only evidence. There are also very little remains of buildings as the bases appeared to be mostly in brick and it is supposed the superstructure was in wood and not in stone

The Majapahit Style in which we have placed our core statues in this chapter is as follows in three key categories. First, the *sinjang kawung*, which is always carved in deep relief and falls to the ankles with a simple pleat at the front of the body, the modelling of the *sinjang* is suggestive of a heavy textile where the cloth appears to drape over rather than clings to the legs. The second feature, is the exuberant and heavy ornamentation especially evident, in the large jewelled tassel and buckles along with the five-strand pearl *upavīta*, whereas the *seléndang* is not as apparent as in the previous Singosari style. The third, is the fully frontal upright stance. We have stressed that the importance of the monarch or sovereign and for this reason the statues are depicted wearing a *sinjang kawung*.

So many occurrences of this luxurious cloth were only possible because the Majapahit rulers were powerful and wealthy. They had control over most of the Indonesian archipelago as far away as the Philippines and New Guinea, and textiles and ideas would have been brought back from these different regions, and traded with the many sojourning merchants who poured into the hinterland of the Majapahit kingdom travelling up the Brantas River. The local rulers appeared to encourage and legitimize the traders who were based in the local ports and subsequently aided their trade for indigenous products into the hinterland (Hall 2004:242). These many international traders brought gifts for the king, who in turn over time amassed a great amount of prestige goods. As a result, the king in turn would distribute some of these goods, such as silks and porcelain to his many allies throughout his realm. Tarling has suggested that it was the wealth and power of the ruler that facilitated his prestige (Tarling 1992:220). Wealth was also created by the trade in rice critical to its legitimacy, traded to the people of eastern Indonesia, who in return brought their spices to Java. This two way trade was the reason Java became such an important entrepôt in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Many ceremonies given by the kings to the local community were another sign of their significant wealth. Depending on the rank or social position of the person in attendance, gold or silver platters were used, and different types of food served (Tarling:221, Hall 2004:241). There was a wide distribution of Chinese ceramic sherds found in Majapahit sites, many of which are now in the Trowulen Museum, and attest to the appetite the Javanese held for these luxurious items. Ceramics, along with textiles and precious metals and the trade in rice, made the Majapahit royalty very wealthy. This would appear to be the reason why the rulers,

chose to portray such luxurious cloth and gems on the stone statues of their monarchs appearing as divine beings, as a way of demonstrating and legitimizing their power.

An exhaustive study of Majapahit sculpture in its variant forms is not possible within the scope of this thesis. There remain so many more Majapahit sculptures that are not decorated with textile patterns, than those with patterns. Therefore, we propose, it becomes quite evident that these generally large sculptures were carved with textile patterns because they were destined for the important temples associated with the more central figures of Javanese monarchs, so there was a need for the statues to be carved wearing a *sinjang kawung*, which clearly is a pattern which appeared to hold much meaning for the Majapahit. The physiognomy of the royal couple Cat.66 is undoubtedly in the later Majapahit style, with a heavy jaw line and profusion of jewellery and the rendering of the hair and crown undeniably Javanese with no apparent Pāla influence, except perhaps for the pose itself. However, stylistically the group or pairing of these two figures does represent a strain of Pāla art from the 10th to 12th centuries, however in truth this sculpture is of Majapahit origin in the fully frontal nature of the presentation and of course in the use of the *kawung* textile pattern.

This rich cloth which could have been made with imported gold leaf, or woven with gold thread with a *kawung* pattern, appeared to hold a deeply symbolic meaning to the major nobility of the Majapahit monarchs, for these few statues to be carved with variations of the same pattern. The minor nobility were evidently not permitted to use the prestigious *sinjang kawung* on their sculpture to be placed on their own commemorative *caṇḍi*. Unfortunately there are no remains of smaller *caṇḍi* with any statues still *insitu*, for us to truly understand this complex period in east Javanese history. A brief discussion of the term *songket*, originally known as *songket lungsi*, was a textile which flourished in the port cities of Sumatra, which were trading centres and were later influenced by the Islamic culture. The cross trading between the early maritime kingdoms in Sumatra such as Palembang followed by Jambi and those ports on the northeast coast of Java, we propose perhaps was the source of this gold woven textile. The colour gold as we have already discussed was a symbol of kingship, therefore we can also suggest that textiles for the royalty were woven with silk and gold thread. The silk was introduced by the Chinese and Indian traders, and the weaving conducted locally in Sumatra or perhaps in Java, using existing traditional weaving tools. Wisseman

Christies in her analysis of the *sīma* tax-transfer charters indicates that the use of the *cadar* loom which must have a discontinuous warp, was in practice at the time, we also know of the use of the term *tinulis ing mas*, drawing upon with gold, which needed an instrument as the precursor to the present day *canting* to apply the pattern upon which the gold was attached. This technique was later known as *parada/perada/prada*, from the Sanskrit *parada*, meaning quicksilver. The use of the term *parada* was a form of poetic luxury in the court verse, indicating romance and remained important in literature for centuries (Wisseman Christie 1991a:14 & 16-18).

A new publication by Arci refers to the many aspects of Bīma who shares features with Kāla-Bhairava, known as the demonic aspect of Lord Śiva. A discussion on the iconography of Bīma-Bhairava alludes to both figures sharing demonic and gigantic traits and amongst other aspects a chequered black and white loincloth (Acri 2017:117-120). However the black and white loincloth is only depicted on the figure of Bīma, the only known figure of Bhairava is in the RMV and he is naked, whereas the Bhairava in Sumatra now at the MNI does not wear a poleng chequered cloth.

We conclude this chapter with a brief discussion on Sumatra which is strategically placed on the Maritime Silk trade route bordering the Straits of Malacca. The numerous ships which traded from China to India and beyond had to pass the shores of Sumatra and through the Straits. From January to April the ships were aided by the northeast monsoon for their journey to the west. Their return voyage was assisted by the southwest monsoon which carried the Chinese ships home. The monsoon winds also brought to the waters of Southeast Asia, ships belonging to Arab and Indian traders. The merchants had to wait out the time for the monsoon to turn before they could return to their original destinations or continue on with their journey. As a consequence the port towns of Sumatra became the place to stock up on supplies, make repairs and trade goods (Keurs ter and Stuart-Fox 2009:14, Hall 1981:66-81).

Sanskrit texts from the 3rd century BC mention a land or region called Suvarnadvipa or Gold Island, it is not known whether this meant a region in Southeast Asia or just an island, but it certainly would have encompassed Sumatra (Keurs ter and Stuart-Fox:15). The 'Sea of Malayu' was a term known from Arabic documents dated to c.1000. It was noted by travellers on their way to China, but perhaps this sea was in reality an area of people that stretched

from Indian via Sumatra to Vietnam. The pivotal point was the Straits of Melaka and the Malay people living along its coastline on both sides of the Straits. Evidence of this trade has been the recent research into Indo-Pacific trade beads found all across this region (Andaya 2008:23-24). The core of these communities lie along the northern and eastern shores of Sumatra and provided the Southeast Asian products that were so greatly desired by China and the Arab world (Andaya:40). This network of communities that made up the Sea of Malayu shared many values, from architecture, language and the numerous artefacts they left behind. They included the Malay of Funan, the Angkorians on the Isthmus of Kra and the Chams in the Malayu world, they were all bound together by shared economic interests, a lingua franca, ideas of religion and statecraft and above all they thought of themselves as Malayu and 'a family of communities'(ibid.48). The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* describes the islands of Java and Sumatra as two separate communities, Java is termed *bhumi Jawa* and Sumatra as *bhumi Malayu*. These two terms goes some way to show that the two communities were different and thought of as different at the time by the people in Java (Andaya ibid.49).

On Sumatra during the 11th and 13th centuries, Tantric Buddhism appeared to be prevalent, where great emphasis was placed on the use of rituals and meditation, plus tools used for immediate salvation. Sites which show evidence of Tantric Buddhism are Muara Takus, Muara Jambi, Padang Lawas and the Batang Hari region (Schnitger 1937:6-10). The two figures in Cat.72 are testament to the type of tantric Buddhism which was practiced at Padang Lawas. These two relief panels are the only remnants which display any kind of textile patterns, as we have discussed briefly in the description in 4.3 in this chapter, there was an apparent with either the Buddhism of Tibet or Bhutan.

5 Conclusion

In this thesis we have divided the 72 sculptures into three chapters, which refers to three periods covering roughly the 9th to early 11th century, the 13th century followed by the 14th to early 15th century. Within these three chapters sub-groups have been created which enable us to categorise where possible the textile patterns into 'style' groups. As a result of the knowledge gained from the pattern style groups, we have been able to research the transmission of patterns from textiles to sculptures. We have also dated the images where possible by their textile patterns, and where relevant have alluded to some ideas as to the relationship between South and Southeast Asia, with reference to the inter-regional trade and the types of textiles which were known at the time.

Within these three chapters we have also included four sculptures the only known figures depicted with textile patterns which have originated from Sumatra, with dates which are contiguous with this classical period in Java. As the sculptures from Sumatra display textile patterns which reflect some of the Javanese styles, we felt it was necessary to indicate what was happening in Sumatra during this period. We have studied the transmission of textile patterns from textile sources to sculptures, and where possible made suggestions as to what some of the patterns on the small bronzes and large stone statues were perhaps replicating. As a result we advocate that the peak of textile representation on stone sculpture in Java appears to have been from 1269 to 1292 during the reign of King Kṛtanāgara, in the last phase of the Singhasāri period. However during the central and early east Javanese period many more sculptures were produced with textile patterns,¹⁶² but the variety of patterns does not match in any way the variety seen in this Singhasāri period. We reiterate here in the conclusion, the quote by Woodward who said that:

“A fabric recreated in stone may tell us more than would actual textile fragments or impressions, for it documents the local response to the imported object” (Woodward 1977:233).

This thesis has maintained that the fabrics represented on the dress of most of the bronze, gold and stone sculptures from the classical period in Java, clearly continues to

¹⁶² The number of sculptures chosen for this thesis was to indicate a cross section of the types of patterns produced in the central and early east Javanese period.

document the local response to successive arrivals of textiles via trade, and then reflect the local interpretation of the imported item.

Throughout this thesis we have aimed to make some proposals and suggested as to what the textile patterns on the sculptures represented. To clearly place the material discussed here into context, it is useful to summarise by reiterating that the sculptures created during the rule of King Kṛtanāgara were the most varied and distinctive.¹⁶³ However we also conclude that in some instances, this whole corpus of material from Java, reflects textiles from the Tang to Yüan periods in Chinese, Central Asian, Indian and Tibetan history. The only motif which appears to cross over from ornament to dress pattern in the late 13th century is that of the skull, the *kāla*-head and one-eyed *kāla*-head motif, a motif not depicted in textiles in any of the above countries.

5.1 Research Contributions

Art historians generally prefer placing 'art objects' into neat categories to enable the identification of any given art object to be either by its iconography, its dress, ornaments, and facial features or by its body style. However, in the past, if patterns were seen on the sculpture, they were not included in this categorisation. Our aim has been to further add to this stylistic grammar and categorisation by expanding on this idea, illustrating how in the Classical Arts of Java there is a distinct and marked difference not only between the three known historical periods of classical Java, but five stylistic periods. These are categorized not only by using the textile patterns, but with an evaluation of the 'art historical style' of the sculptures, with all five periods differing to varying degrees. The methodological approach taken with this group of sculptures was holistic and, through this approach, substantive evidence indicated that it is certain the ancient east Javanese would have acknowledged the importance of textiles as a political statement, thus fashioning their sculptures with a vast array of differing patterns and dress styles. Two factors became evident: first, that whether the sculpture was of Hindu or Buddhist religion appeared to make no difference to the types of patterns used. The second factor, is the indication that the gender of the sculpture did not

¹⁶³Heller suggests that, paradoxically, our only real knowledge of Tang period textiles which are contiguous with the Central Javanese period, are the fabrics remaining in the Japanese depositories of the Hōryūji and the Shōsō-in. These fabrics were inventoried and then stored in perfect condition until now. Heller, A. 1998. Two Inscribed Fabrics and Their Historical Context: Some Observations on Esthetics and Silk Trade in Tibet 7th to 9th century. In *Entlang der Seidenstraße*, ed. K. Otavsky, 95-119. Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung.: 96.

affect the dress style and textile patterns, except in a few examples in central Java such as in the gold statues and plaques. The classification of the sculptures in this thesis was arrived at by using physiognomy, dress, ornaments, posture and lotus plant motif¹⁶⁴ and in some instances textile patterns. We were unable however, to place the textile patterns of the 13th century into any clear classification, apart from the statues originating from the main tower Caṇḍi A at Singosari. Although, by the mid-14 to early 15th century all the textile patterns manifested into a similar design and, therefore, could be clearly classified as a group.

There were many Śaivite sculptures created during the 11th and 12th centuries in the Kaḍiri period, which, almost without exception (from the numerous sculptures we have studied), are not carved with textile patterns, except Cat.38. This statue remains an enigma, as Pott has suggested, this statue was made at two different periods, he describes it as:

“Later reworked,” “shows a remarkable clumsiness in the style and certain execution of certain elements, in particular those having to do with the ‘demonic’ aspects of this sculpture” (Pott 1962:131).

Pott continues to suggest that the demonic features, the row of skulls upon which the statue is seated does not appear to be related to the conception as whole (Pott:131). In our opinion, it is the textile pattern that appears out of place at this early date of 1239-1240 (from the inscription). Despite the date falling into the Singhasāri period of 1222, the statue would appear to fit more closely with a Kaḍiri Gaṇeśa, and the *kawung* textile pattern closely resembles those from the Majapahit period. Given our knowledge of the history of the Kaḍiri period is limited to the *kakawin* and *kidung* texts, aside from the sculptures we have little evidence upon which to base our knowledge apart from an analysis of the textiles and the general ‘style’ of each statue.

One compelling and significant aspect of this thesis is the presentation of new material previously unseen and more noteworthy are the sculptures previously unknown. Art historians in past centuries have not been as fortunate as we have been. The advances in cameras and computers, the ease and availability of inexpensive travel and access to sculptures worldwide, have without doubt, aided in arriving at the conclusions reached by this thesis. However, in contrast, there are negative aspects to the passage of the last

¹⁶⁴ This was not expanded on or discussed in any great detail and this subject has been covered extensively by past scholars.

centuries. Erosion, theft, destruction by natural calamities in Java, and the increasingly stricter policies of museums against photography and access to collections, have made finding and cataloguing the textile patterns and overall features of the sculptures much harder in some instances than for the scholars in the early 20th century. Having said this, we are fortunate in the 21st century to be able to bring to the wider audience an extraordinary breadth of material influenced by many areas across Asia, as can be seen with this range of bronze and stone sculptures and their diverse textile patterns.

5.2 Trade and Textiles – South and Southeast Asia Relationships

There are a variety of influences depicted on the textile patterns on the sculptures in the 13th century, ranging from the Sasanian period in central Asia through to Liao and southern Sung and to the Yüan period in China, also to Mainland Southeast Asia. We suggest that a number of these east Javanese textiles patterns may well have been influenced by locally woven textiles, which were subsequently used for trade items to China. But by the mid-14th to early 15th century, the sculptures all displayed a similar type of dress with a pattern, the garment known as the *sinjang kawung*, which we suggest perhaps reflecting a Javanese made cloth. The textile patterns on sculptures presented in Chapters 2 and 3, which illustrate that Java was part of the greater interconnected global world and part of the single ocean, which John Guy so aptly describes as:

“Extensive regional trade in indigenous Southeast Asian textiles underlines the complexity of the traditional trading system. A degree of regional specialization and the emergence of an element of cash-cropping in local economies.....resulted in considerable regional movement of textiles” (Guy 1998:75)

This regional movement of textiles has also been aptly described by Chau Ju-Kua in the *Zhufanzhi* (Hirth and Rockhill 1965) a few hundred years earlier, and by Marco Polo who describes Java as:

“Java is of surpassing wealth, producing all....kinds of spices,....frequented by vast amounts of shipping, and by merchants who buy and sell costly goods from which they reap great profit. Indeed, the treasure of this island is too good as to be past telling” (Polo 1875:272-4).

This description written in the last decade of the 13th century perhaps helps us to focus our attention on the importance of Java in the international trade in the region. To

search for some parallels and to find the various ways other nations might have interacted with Java; we need to study the textile patterns found across Central Asia, India, China and Tibet. However these patterns which might have had an impact in Java, can only be taken as unconscious borrowings, a convergence perhaps of past ideas that reached Java indirectly over time. In our opinion this transference of ideas was more pro-active than that. Krom has suggested that “weaving is a metaphor for the creation of the world both in Southeast Asia and in India” (Krom 1926:361), and on that premise we can take this statement as a way of highlighting the importance, symbolism and significance of cloth held by the people of Java.

Wolters describes the oceans between China, Southeast Asia, India, west Asia and the coast of Africa as the “single ocean”(Wolters 1999:44). A fact that meant this was a vast neutral zone of water where treasure from distant shores always arrived to the coast of Sumatra to Śrīvijaya and to the trading ports in Java. It enabled there to be a lively commercial exchange that encouraged communications, which left a mark on the history of Southeast Asia. Developments and changes which happened in the Indian sub-continent reached the Indonesian islands fairly quickly, which led to the rise of the Hindu devotional cults. Parts of the reliefs at Borobudur for example were interpreted as a Mahayana Buddhist text, a *sūtra* which reached Java and other parts of Southeast Asia. An extensive cross communication over this single ocean brings the possibility of an Indian influence to the history and culture in the region. Wolters suggests that the rulers and the urban elite were to take the changes of foreign ideas and modernity in their stride. This enabled the elite to not only expect a continuous flow of foreign goods, but also the continuous arrival of foreign Indian literature which they appeared to have absorbed into their own traditions (Wolters:44-47). This apparent absorption of foreign literature and merchandise not only from India but from further west and from China in the east, appeared to have aided in the creation of an elite society that was open to all the ideas that came its way. They could then belong to a new ‘whole’, this inclusion of the Indian materials and ideals then allowed the rulers and the elite to believe their centres and the material created within was unique. Because foreign material was incorporated into many sub-regions, we can pose the question about the range of experiences the local rulers adopted, and then adapted the foreign material until they seem to have completely disappeared (Wolters:57).

This occurrence is very apparent in this study of the small bronze and gold statuettes, and the Śaivite and Buddhist stone sculptures all of which depict iconography which reflects their Indian roots, however there are some notable exceptions. One such example is of Cat.9 and 12 both of which are carved with a variation of a similar type of flower with a pointed petal. A similar variation of this pattern is carved in shallow relief on the *seléndang* and the *dhotī* of a seated stone figure of an Avalokitésvara from Bihar dated 10th to 11th century.¹⁶⁵

However as we study the 13th to 14th century a new ‘whole’ becomes apparent, as the religious aspects of the Indian traditions may be visible, but what we see now is an amalgamation of styles which reflect a local Javanese interpretation of what used to be imported foreign textiles. This is particularly apparent in the use of the *kawung* pattern on the statues of the Majapahit period, a departure from the previous centuries where so many of the textile patterns reflected foreign fabrics. Therefore as we study the patterns on these figures we are able to improve our knowledge of the region and what might have taken place in its past.

In the past it appears that the legitimacy granted to kings by divine right, enabled the kings to create statues of the highest quality at great cost often depicting patterns that appeared to replicate these foreign textiles. The distinctive designs depicted in the sculptures of the 13th and early 14th centuries, were not repeated into the later 14th century sculptures. At this time there appeared to be a move away from the tantric form of Śaivism and Buddhism to a cult of deifying royal figures which appeared to be homogenous in the guise of either Śiva, Pārvatī or Harihara. By the end of the Majapahit period deified statues of royal figures and statues of Bīma and Kertolo appeared to be popular.

What textiles exactly were traded from Indian to Southeast Asia is unknown (Wisseman Christie 1991b:17-18, Barnes:114-117, Devare 2009:182), however what we do know is that Indian cottons appeared to be in huge demand in Java, imported over a long period from India. The Chinese also appeared to need cloth from India such as white cotton for soldier’s uniforms, who fought in the hot southern regions. The white cloth came to be known as *kanipha* in the Ming period, *bafta* in Thailand and *kain* in Malaysia. The Indian merchants carried the cloth via Southeast Asia on the way to China. Whilst in Śrīvijaya for

¹⁶⁵ Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, National Museum, New Delhi, The Avery Brundage Collection, B63S44+

example, the Southeast Asian merchants who traded in the port of Palembang, then re-exported the cloth along with other commodities. In the history of the Song dynasty, it is mentioned that envoys who arrived from somewhere probably in Sumatra, brought with them among other things Indian textiles. This appears to be the first mention of Indian textiles exported to Southeast Asia (Devare:180). These imported Indian cottons often came to be the templates for the production of subsequent Javanese textiles.

Perhaps what also arrived from India was a cloth garment worn as a *dhoti* which was to be made into local garments and adapted as local dress. This was the lower body garment worn by both men and women, known from the texts dating back to the 2nd century BCE up to the 12th century. The *dhoti* was originally worn short, tied tight around the legs and caught up and tucked in at the rear of the dress. In the following centuries the *dhotis* was worn both long and short. For example the style of a *dhoti* is clearly evident wrapping the limbs of Cat.22, another garment that may have arrived from India is the term *sarong or sarung*, the Malay word to depict a cloth wrapped around the hips. In ancient times this was also called a *sari*, however the sari which is known today was not the *sari* of old. Today the sarong represents a *kain* sewn into a tube skirt, but in classical Java all the sculptures were depicted with a *kain* as a sheet cloth wrapped around the body.

Much of the material examined in Chapter 1 emphasizes the importance of the ancient Javanese literature *kalangwan*, such as *kidung* and *kakawin* poems, as a source of dress and textile patterns, especially from the KH and the ST. It also highlights the knowledge of economic and social history gained from the *sīma* tax-transfer charters. As a result of this knowledge, the types of garments shown on the Javanese sculptures are revealed to us through a close analysis of the sculptures, further details are found in Glossary 6.2. Having looked at the historical sources and the texts referring to the textile terms and patterns, we would put forward the suggestion that the sculptures themselves, bearing in mind international influences and local developments, perhaps in some instances became the prototypes for future textile patterns. We know from the *sīma* and the Javanese market lists of the 11th and 12th centuries that the Javanese were making their own skeins of coloured silk. We also know from inscriptions that a great variety of textiles was being made in Java from the 10th century onwards. But before this period very little is known of the types of textiles for example of what arrived from Indian, from the texts it was mostly white cotton,

with some patterns described as flowers and circles with dots scattered across a plain ground. As Wisseman Christie has noted, this description closely resembles some of the patterns on the Indian statuary of the central Javanese period (Wisseman Christie 1991a:12). She also refers to the earliest reference of a Javanese silk to China, when a Cham mission to the Chinese court carried a Javanese '*ge-man*' silk,¹⁶⁶ and of Javanese missions who carried coloured silks to China, some of which were of local Javanese origin. Some of the textiles were classified by the Chinese as brocades and damasks, which probably referred to *kain songket*, *kain limar* and embroidery work (Wisseman Christie 1998a:21).¹⁶⁷ This information clearly points to the ability of the Javanese to weave silk textiles in complex forms such as brocade or *songket*. The argument proposed in Chapter 1 for example that the patterns were likely seen as a reflection of a brocade or *songket*, however we will also reflect here on a possible counter-argument. This is in fact much harder to expand on as there is no real explanation for a counter-argument. What we can propose however, is these particular patterns could also be a reflection of a *patola* from western India, or a cotton chintz, block printed and mordant dyed fabric from west or east India. Examples of these types of textiles is to be found in Appendix 3 Plate 14. Even though these cotton and double ikat textiles do reflect some of the same kind of patterning, we see on the sculptures, in our opinion examples of these textiles were not the templates for many of the designs on the 13th century sculptures. These particular kind of textiles were not really known of or traded at this early date, also the carving in *haute* relief would in our opinion be reflecting a textile made with a supplementary thread in gold or coloured silk thread, or a patterned stamped or embossed with gold. Therefore the counter-argument in our opinion does not hold.

From China, a prosperous trade existed in luxury silk and gold textiles known as 'cloth of gold' or *nasīj*,¹⁶⁸ which were woven with numerous designs in gold thread the technique

¹⁶⁶ We do not know the structure of this type of silk.

¹⁶⁷ The dominant type of loom in use in maritime Southeast Asia was the body tension or back strap loom, however the market lists at the time mention the use of a loom reed or *suri*. This is needed to separate the warp threads to enable the weaving of a textile with supplementary weft threads which float over the warp. This type of loom is need to create plaids, *songket* and *limar* fabrics. It has been suggested that this type pf loom was imported from Persia by the south Indians by the 10th century, which would indicate that by this time the Javanese were able to weave more sophisticated silks and produce a finer and more luxurious cloth Wisseman Christie, J. (1993b) Texts and Textiles in Medieval Java. *Bulletin de l'Ecole francais d'Extreme-Orient*, 80.1, 181-211.: 22

¹⁶⁸ Allsen describes *nasīj* as derived from the Arabic word *nasaja* "to weave", with the generic meaning of "woven stuff" or "textile", but in the Mongolian era it was shortened to *nasīj*, literally meaning "cloth of gold

originating from Central Asian (Watt 1997:127, Watt 2010:7). During the Mongol period the use of *nasīj* was extensive, as Allsen describes, the merchants came to the Mongol court with garments of gold brocade, where there appeared to be a steady supply of elegant clothing. In the 1250s records in China show that from Cathay and other countries further south came “cloths of silk and gold and cotton materials which they wear in the summer” (Allsen 1997:29). This knowledge is also repeated in the *Zhufanzhi* where it states that the port town of Jambi, during the Śrīvijaya period imported silk brocade, (we do not know if this meant *nasīj*), damask and tie-dyed cloths, whereas the Malay kingdom called Langkasuka¹⁶⁹ and Java imported tie-dyed cloths and brocades via Borneo. It appears that the Chinese were well aware of two different levels of the Malay market, consequently they allocated the higher-value silks as key products for the wealthier Southeast Asian ports. The types of silk fabrics traded were, for example, damasks, brocades¹⁷⁰ and *sarcenets* (a coarse silk fabric often used for linings, made with silk warp and hemp weft (Yoshinobu 1970:112), known mainly from the Middle East.) In the late Song period, merchants and peddlers traded their goods in the international market, it appeared only silk and cotton were featured in the imports list, despite the fact silks were also exported (Yoshinobu 1970:121). During the ‘free-trade’ period of the following Yüan, it appeared Sino-Muslim traders were increasingly active in the waters of Southeast Asia.

and silk”. This term could also be termed as brocade, a textile to which ornamental threads are added, usually in the weft, in the case of *nasīj* the ornamental threads were of gold. The term most often used in sources of the 13th and 14th centuries referred to cloth woven of silk with gold thread, and referred to the glittering and sumptuous textiles known as the “Tartar cloths” of the medieval period, and were associated with the Mongols. Allsen, T. T. 1997. *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A cultural history of Islamic textiles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. :3-4

¹⁶⁹ An ancient state on the northeast coast of Malaya, a name no longer used. It was known by the Chola and the Chinese and to the Arab sailors. Wheatley, P. 1961. *The Golden Khersonese*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.:258. This region of the Peninsular Malaysia and the Southeast coast of Thailand are known for the production of *songket* or fabric made with gold and silk supplementary weft threads, often termed brocade. The History of the Liang dynasty (506-566), states the Langkasuka kingdom was founded at the end of the first century CE, between the south of Pattani in Thailand and north of Kedah on the Malay east coast. Chinese reports stated the king was dress in ‘rose coloured cloth with gold flowers’. Scheurleer, P. L. (2008) The Well-Known Javanese Statue in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, and its place in Javanese Sculpture. *Artibus Asiae*, 68, 287-332. :33-34. It is highly likely that this textile could well be a *songket* of some kind, as Malay traditional *songket* was always woven in red silk with supplementary gold threads.

¹⁷⁰ The Chinese definition of jacquard, a machine whose opening is controlled by a pre-set programme, so as to control the pattern being woven. A type of loom needed to weave a brocade pattern containing any type of animal pattern set within roundels, in ancient times the machine was called a drawn loom, the pre-cursor of the jacquard. Zhao, F. 2015. Weaving Technology. In *A History of Chinese Science and Technology*, , ed. Y. Lu, 379-493. Springer, Heidelberg, London, New York, Dordrecht: Shanghai Jiao Tong University Press. :472

Although specific textual references are recorded regarding the types of cloth traded at the diplomatic level, refined silks were highly valued. A shift had developed in the trading patterns. Many foreign merchants gathered in the Chinese ports and likewise Chinese merchants began to form small communities in the ports on the north coast of Java and in Śrīvijaya (Stuart-Fox 2003:50-51). By early 13th century there appears to have been a tremendous increase in the range of silk products exported to the Malay region. During the year 1219, as stated in the *Song Huiyao Jigao*, it was recommended that silk was used as a means of exchange rather than the precious metals previously used. The three types of silks mentioned were, plain dyed silk cloth, printed and patterned silks, and silks with patterns gained through dyeing (Heng 2009:169). One important sculpture that of Cat.54 from Sumatra exhibits a very detailed pattern on the sash which is depicted laying across her hips. The patterns closely resemble *sulaman* or embroidery, as Van der Hoop describes, *sulaman* originated from China and was used on silks from Palembang, where the art is a mixture of Chinese, Javanese and Siamese influences (Van Der Hoop 1949:236). The border pattern on the *kain* appears to clearly represent a stylised version of the *tumpal*, the isosceles triangular pattern which appears so often on *patola* and Indian trade cottons. Examples of both these patterns appear in Appendix 3 Plate 18 and 19. This statue in our opinion is a clear example of acculturation, where knowledge of a particular pattern was known but interpreted into a local Sumatra style, therefore we propose that this statue is an example of the first early evidence from the late 13th century of the use of Chinese and Siamese textile patterns.

We turn to examples based on material preserved in Sasanian and Sogdian mural patterns, for us to conjecture how some of the textile patterns which appear on the Javanese sculptures might have looked. For example, although the figures of Cat.44 and 45 are dressed in the Javanese style, the patterns appear 'foreign' we propose possibly of a Persian origin. The end years of the Sasanian Empire around 671 were paralleled with the beginning of the Tang period of 619. At the time Sasanian silks were imported into China and replicated, as a consequence of which subsequent textiles were produced with a syncretism of Chinese and Iranian motifs (Allsen 1997:11). Some of the patterns created were, for example, confronting or single animals, such as ducks, lions, peacocks and deer, usually set within or without a pearl roundel. Both empires had set a clothing code and a set of sumptuary laws on the most exquisite silks. A continuous interaction carried on between Central Asia and China long after

the fall of the Sasanian dynasty. It would appear that the popularity of Persian courtly images enjoyed wide prestige within the region, Constantinople in the west and in the east, to Xian in China. The ornamental patterns which were attributed to a Persian style can be seen as symbolically powerful.

A brief case study will be highlighted at this juncture to mirror work completed in the Russian North Caucasus region in a site known by its Turkic name Kubachi. Zvezdana Dode's work at Kubachi reflects exactly what this thesis aims to portray. She states that textiles are an:

“Important part of historical evidence, they also play an important art-historical source for ornamental patterns found in other forms of decorative arts. Costly and beautiful imported silks have always been a source of inspiration for local artists who copied images from foreign textiles onto items of their own art tradition”(Dode 2014:127).

Dode asks “how did artistic motifs spread?” By the research carried out on the Kubachi reliefs she assumed that fabrics and maybe other objects of material art, would have played a key role in the cultural exchange between various regions of the world. She suggests that the stone carvers at Kubachi did not directly copy the textile ornaments (Dode:128), which is the premise we have proposed in this thesis. That the Singosari sculptures were created as a local interpretation of foreign imported textiles. Dode describes one example of special interest which is also reflected here. The close parallels between the ornamental patterns on the stone reliefs and silk fabrics, for example a direct correspondence can be made between the images of a deer on a Yüan dynasty silk lampas textiles where animals are placed in the centre figure of a frame with two Kubachi reliefs. The reliefs dated to the Mongol period in the north Caucasus, to the last quarter of the 13th and to the early 14th century (ibid.130). If we turn to Cat.45 where we see a textile pattern of a duck and other animals within roundels, one could possibly be of a deer, we see the same kind of relationship to textiles and other medium as described by Dode, as we have suggested here in Chapter 3.3.

Dode concludes her article by articulating that:

“Emblems and symbols of significance originated from the heart of the Mongol empire, where cultural influences extended in all directions towards the periphery”(ibid.139).

It is the periphery of the Mongol empire which includes Java as one of its trading partners, so we can deduct from Dode's article that what we see in east Java in some instances is on a parallel to the Kubachi reliefs, as a reflection of Sasanian/Mongol designs where there was a direct borrowing and subsequent imitation.

We would like to highlight a few statues made during the Singhasāri period. For example, Cat.59 is carved with the *sinjang* showing a series of rosettes and vegetal patterns, the rosettes typical of the flowers on 19th to 20th centuries Malay and Palembang *songket limar*. Particularly the patterns evident in Cat.58 and 59, are also apparent in 18th century Indian block printed textiles portrayed in a very similar schematic layout, such as images in Appendix 3 Plate 14. However, knowledge of this pattern does reach further back, we suggest, some examples such as the wall painting of a king at Pagan in the 11th century and from the textile pattern depicted on the harp player of the 7th century Sasanian rock reliefs at Taq-i-Bustan. Canepa describes the Taq-i-Bustan rock reliefs as containing multiple images of its patron, the king, at that time. The reliefs not only preserve royal activities but royal fashion and textile ornament, including the clothing of the courtiers, servants and musicians, where great pains was taken to record with precision the textile patterns. Canepa describes the 6th century robe found in Constantinople depicted with birds in roundels, a pattern not known in Rome, but rather matched textiles from Persia. Ornament can be perceived as exotic and can define the patron as part of the social elite (Canepa 2014:2-9). The similarity of some of the ornament designs at Taq-i-Bustan with the two sculptures Cat.44 and 45 is uncanny. In Canepa's article page 5 Fig.1.5, the depiction of a senmurv and a large rosette within roundels is also uncannily similar to the patterns not only on these statues but also on Cat.59. In Fig.1.7 are roundels with ducks and deer. Canepa describes how "ornamental motifs could often migrate from silk to other types of textiles or even to architectural settings" (Canepa:11). This quote as does the quote from Dode's text, highlights the continued cross-cultural exchange between the Sasanian world and China, we already know of the Chinese trade to and from Java in the 13th century.

The two sculptures Cat.44 and 45 are carved with textile patterns, which do not fit into any design category known today in Java, Sumatra or the Malay Peninsula. The remaining visible pattern on Cat.45 can be read as a motif of a duck in a roundel and in the remaining roundels, the legs and the head of different animals are just discernible as discussed earlier.

Cat.44 is carved with a perfect pattern of juxtaposing circles in which the motifs represent three different animals, both real and imagined such as the *senmurv* or *makara* and the griffin. It also includes two different roundels of vegetal designs such as the leaf of the lotus vine patterns also carved on the walls of Caṇḍi Kalasan, and depicted in roundels at Caṇḍi Kidal, described as a ‘recalcitrant spiral’ by Van der Hoop (Van Der Hoop 1949:272), or they are somewhat reminiscent of Chinese cloud patterns. To assess, there remains a pervasive influence of Sasanian designs throughout the Asian continent, long after the decline of the Sasanian Empire, as evident in some of the textile patterns from the Singhasāri period, many of which remain inexplicable. We turn again to Woodward who describes a Chinese Silk from Caṇḍi Sewu, as a stone pattern on the walls of the caṇḍi carved with roundels in which are images of animals identified as lions and deer, the alternative roundels filled with large rosettes, in between he describes as foliate Greek crosses (Woodward 1977:233). Despite the 8th century date of these patterns in central Java, it is interesting to note that nothing like these designs were reflected on the sculptures from the central and early east Java period sculpture. But Woodward notes that this pattern is not Chinese in fact but has its roots in Sogdian traditions, however the rosettes closely resemble Chinese patterns found in Tang China of the 8th century. He suggests that these motifs present “tantalizing evidence of the spread of such motifs” (Woodward:237). In our opinion the Tang rosette is clearly visible on the patterns of Cat. 58 and 59, however these designs could also be a larger version of *songket* patterns as depicted on the jacket of Cat.47. Whatever the sources of these patterns many scholars have concluded that whether in paint, carved reliefs or stone, they represent the reflection of textiles in circulation at the time. Examples in Appendix 3 Plate 15.

We have earlier alluded to Sasanian connections in order to explain the possible inspiration for some of these patterns. Amy Heller has outlined some possible ideas, to which we concur:

“mural paintings of the textiles in Tibetan monasteries constructed during the late 10th to 12th centuries indicate the persistent popularity in Tibet of Sasanian roundel motifs enclosing both geometric and animal forms, long after their initial import during the Tibetan empire” (Heller 2006:175).

Turning to the sculptures originating from Caṇḍi Singosari are figures depicted wearing jackets. These are described in Sanskrit as *kavaca*, meaning armour, jacket, mail, shield, amulet or chain. A term which Stutterheim has described means *harnas* in Dutch, a

word also appropriated by the Javanese. He proposes that the idea of this jacket was possibly derived from war jackets worn by the Balinese as depicted in Balinese paintings. Modern Balinese troops wore jackets such as these when they fought against the Dutch. The interpretation of the term *kavaca* hints at the magical protection of the garment that is red in colour (Stutterheim 1936:308). He also notes that of all the figures from Caṇḍi A at Singosari only the guru or Agastya is not depicted wearing a jacket, and that this 'war clothing' is unique to this one and only caṇḍi (Stutterheim:309).

All of the Caṇḍi A sculptures at Singosari are depicted with different patterns, but appear to reflect the type of layout of a brocade textile, which are generally carved in bands or chains known as *rantai*, which are possibly the earliest example of brocaded textile patterns. For example, the design on Cat.47 does appear to be a clear template of a *songket* (Fig. 3.34), such as the example presented from the early 20th centuries as seen Appendix 3 Plate 15. The lotus flower pattern on the *sinjang* of Cat.46 could also be a prototype for a pattern depicted in numerous Malay *songket* designs, also reflected in Plate 15. The textile weavers on the Terengganu coast of east Malaysia believe that *songket* was introduced from India via the Śrīvijaya kingdom of Palembang and Jambi in Sumatra. Inpam Selvanayagam gained this information gained from the Malay Annals the *Sejarah Melayu* (Inpam Selvanayagam 1990:xviii).

What became apparent from the creation of these typologies was the extreme differences between the textile patterns on the sculptures between the central and early Javanese period of the 9th and early 11th centuries and the east Javanese periods of the 13th and the subsequent 14th to early 15th centuries. In the central and early east Javanese period, the bronze statues divided fairly evenly between Hindu and Buddhist deities, whereas the stone sculptures were all Śaivite. The patterns decorated within narrow bands suggest either an *ikat* textile or a block printed Indian cotton, often made up of geometric patterns or a series of patterns which appear to resemble 'dots and dashes'. These are similar to the *ikat* textiles as seen at Ajanta and to representations of Tibetan textile patterns in the later 11th to 12th centuries as is evident from sculptures and paintings. However despite their later date, it is certainly possible that *ikat* was known much earlier as evident by the Ajanta paintings (Fig. 2.55). But by the beginning of the east Javanese period, the patterns and the size of the sculptures had changed considerably. No longer are there small bronze figures, but

large stone statues, most of which represent Śaivite and a number of Mahayana Buddhist deities. These sculptures displayed a broad range of dress styles and an even greater variety of textile patterns, including some with apparent tantric iconography. In fact, no two patterns are identical, unlike those in central Java, where there are a number of statuettes with the same or similar designs. The limited numbers of patterned bronzes presented in this thesis would indicate the limited amount and variety of textiles or perhaps other medium, which actually made it to central Java during this period.

Wolters theory of “localization” was a way to analyse how local people reacted to the onset of Indian material, how did this material arrive, how was it perceived. Was it perhaps:

“Drained of its original significance by a process which I shall refer to as ‘localization’. The materials, be they words, books or artefacts had to be localized in different ways before they could fit into various local complexes” (Wolters 1999:55).

As we have suggested earlier the Javanese had incorporated all of these localized ideas which arrived from India, but the result was in no way Indian, but purely Javanese. This was especially so by the beginning of the 13th century and up to the end of the 14th century, where there was certainly evidence of Indian culture in the style and iconography of the sculptures, but by now the textile patterns appeared to hold a much closer comparison to locally produced textiles, overlaid with certain foreign influences from Central Asia and specifically silk brocade textiles from China.

5.3 Dating

The sculptures were divided by geography and chronology of each figure. This meant the period of central and early east Java consisted of small to medium size bronze and gold statuettes and some stone statues, divided between eight categories of textile patterns, patterns which appeared not only on the chosen figures in this thesis, but on many more pieces not included.¹⁷¹ Even though there are two figures in this early group, Cat.17 and 18 which clearly show the beginnings of an early east Javanese style, in the elongation of the body, the ornaments become ‘blobby’ and not particularly identifiable, but the textile patterns still follow the central Javanese ideals. Lunsingh Scheurleer describes the

¹⁷¹ Due to space limitations, we were not able to include more bronzes, and the need to balance the material in the chapters.

ornamentation, as it appears in reference to the Nganjuk bronzes, to predominate over the form (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1988:26). It is clear from Lunsingh Scheurleer that attempting a classification of these bronzes is a complex dilemma, therefore in this thesis we have developed a new form of classification which has never been discussed previously. The ground breaking book *Divine Bronze* placed the bronzes into five groups (and one for Sumatra which does not affect this thesis). The textile patterns we have added here, do not appear to follow the date categories made in this publication, which leaves us to propose that the Javanese during this short period in history were replicating all sorts of different textile patterns. Some of which we have attempted to date as close as possible to this central and early Javanese period, appear as examples in Appendix 3. Plate 11 to 12. If we turn to the designs on the stone statues, the overriding motif appears to be a large rosette or daisy flower scattered over the textile, of course due to the large size of the statue this kind of patterning was possible, where it would not be practical on the small bronze statuettes, apart from one example of a Nganjuk figure at the NMI. According to their predetermined dates, they range from the late 8th to the early 14th century, which leads us to deduce that a certain type of probably cotton block printed textile was available for a long period of time and was extremely popular for it to have been replicated so often.

Apart from these two bronzes and the gold plaques Cat.28 to 31, the features of the remainder of the statuettes appear to be somewhat Indianized. Having said that, it is our opinion that with an educated eye, it is possible to tell the difference between a Javanese bronze figure and the equivalent Indian example. While these early figures are simply decorated with an Indian style of drapery and jewellery, there are some examples where the drapery and patterns are sophisticated and clearly Javanese in style.¹⁷² This Javanese style is apparent not only from the more sophisticated patterning on the *kain*, but also the style of dress which appears as a long *kain* often folded at the front with a pleat. Or sometimes it would appear smooth at the front which would indicate a tube sarong such as a *tapis* known from the Lampung region in south Sumatra, where often the limbs not visible beneath the cloth. This is particularly evident in Cat.35.

¹⁷² These are the following statues. C.4, 6b, 10, 22 and 23.

By the 13th century all the textile patterns from the previous period had disappeared and a new classification was introduced. The extreme differences between this central and early east Javanese period to the Singhasāri becomes very evident. Not only in the types of sculptures produced (now only in stone), but in the wide variety of patterns which are often carved in deep relief on the surface of the andesite stone. We can distinguish this period of sculpture from the lighter colour and finer quality of the stone when compared with the central Javanese statues, which are darker and rougher in quality. Furthermore the textile patterns have now changed from small overall recurring designs, to a more compound pattern with larger and more varied motifs. But it is not just the textile patterns, but also the facial features which do not reflect some of the earlier more Indic features, nor does the dress reflect Indic styles.



Fig. 5.1 Standing figure, Trowulan Museum, depicting a carved textile pattern.

We would like to present one damaged statue which we have not catalogued in this thesis, as an example of the identification of a sculptures dates is possible by its patterns and dress style only. The stone figure of a lower body without feet or upper torso remains outside at the Trowulan Museum (Fig. 5.1), the only visible identifying features are the belt buckle, and the long sash across the thighs and the *kain*. The sash is plain but folded over at the front, a fairly typical central Javanese feature and the textile is carved with a pattern of triangles with an eight pointed petal daisy flower, applied to the surface in shallow relief.

From this fragment alone we can suggest a date for this statue in a period somewhere from the 10th to 12th century, we would suggest this dating from its location, as it sits in the museum in east Java would perhaps indicate it would have been found in this region. The earlier date of the 10th century reflects the type of pattern and style of dress.

The drawings of all the textile patterns have been grouped in Appendix 2. Plates 1 to 7, which highlight clear evidence of the difference between these two historical periods of Hindu Buddhist Java.

5.4 Meaning of Images - Emphasis of Tantrism

To fully understand the depiction of skull imagery we will attempt to provide an explanation of the tantric textile patterns on Cat.46 and Car.49 to 52, all originating from **the** Singhasāri period and one statue from Cat.52 from Padang Roco in Sumatra. We would suggest some of the answers may lie with the tantric practices of Kṛtanāgara and his priests who created this group of Śaivite statues. We have proposed that the *kāla*-head textile patterns could be taken as an 'iconographic sign', along with the tantric iconography in these patterns as sufficient evidence of tantric practice, compounded with the evidence of both Śaiva and Buddhist sculptures in existence at Caṇḍi Singosari. The unusual tantric depictions on some of the textile patterns could also have been as a result of Kṛtanāgara's unusually devout religious affiliations. In the Nāg. it states that during the latter half of the king's life, he had adopted the name Śiva-Buddha (Nāg. 43:5) (Casparis 1983:16). The *Sutasoma* tells us that Kṛtanāgara claimed that the divinity of both Śiva and Buddha was a solution to bind his subjects together (O'Brien and Mpu 2008:239), whereas Hunter describes this union as a complex one and that the:

"Socio-political needs that were played out in the fields of religious symbolism and aesthetics just as much as in the fields of kinship and political organization".... "In terms of the study of 'syncretism' of the Singhasāri period we can now speak of a series of initiatives undertaken by Kṛtanāgara with the ultimate aim of forcing a fusion of elements that represented the metaphysical reflection of his pragmatic political policies" (Hunter 2007:52).

Of course this quote does not help us to determine why these particular sculptures



Fig. 5.2 Detail of Mahākāla from the Sumtsek monastery at Alchi, 11th century. Kind loan of C. Luczanits.

were depicted with skulls and *candrakapāla* motifs on the textile patterns. We do however agree with the proposal by Lunsingh Scheurleer that a skull is a tantric attribute and that Gaṇeśa seated on a base of skulls is indicative of the cremation ground (Lunsingh Scheurleer Juni 1998:6-7). We put forward

another tantric feature which first appeared at Caṇḍi Kidā in 1260, built at the beginning of the reign of Kṛtanāgara. This architectural feature appears on the upper register which we interpret and suggest represents a row of 'skull cups' or *kapāla*, as a small decorative architectural feature. This stylised pattern of a *kapāla* is exactly replicated in the textile border pattern of both Cat.49 and 50, and on the border of all three forms of textiles on Cat.36. The evidence of this version of a *kapāla* motif perhaps represents another iconographical sign of tantric practices in the latter half of the 13th century, symbols which have neither been repeated in any form of architecture nor in textile patterns on sculpture or in modern day textiles, in Java nor in India or Tibet. If we do not interpret this pattern as the cross section of a *kāpala*, then it is hard to determine its presence in this one candi and only on these statues from Singosari. However there is a depiction of the *kapāla* beneath the figure of Mahākāla at Alchi (Fig. 5.2). This depiction and a description by Pott, of the Gaṇeśa in Singosari who holds a cup in each hand in the form of a "brainpan", another such example of demonization (Pott 1962)

This evidence presented here, leaves us to suggest that this practice reflects the destructive nature of these statues, as this is how they would be perceived in the Indian subcontinent (Lunsingh Scheurleer:8). The last sculpture that of Cat.52 from Sumatra, dated to the early 14th century, also displays a diamond pattern filled with a skull motif resting on a sickle moon known as *candrakapāla* (Schnitger 1937, Bosch 1919:490-492). The sculpture is possibly promoting the interests of the king, and perhaps even on behalf of himself. References to his tantric practices are characterized in the circle of skulls representing the cemetery depicted around his base. The *kāla*-head belt and the holding of the skull cup, all symbolic of Bhairava as the highest god of his sect, and possibly seen as aids for the king in repelling his enemies (Reichle 2007:13, Kozok and Reijn 2010:142). This monumental figure appears as one of a kind in contrast to the remaining Sumatra sculptures carved with a textile pattern. However his iconography does appear to fit into the parallel Singosari Style of sculpture and not into the Majapahit style which fits more closely with his dating of the 14th century. The textile pattern is very close in style and execution to Cat.51, except for the shape of the skull. It is interesting to note that these two figures originate from two different islands but appear to have such a similar style in the carving of the pattern.

5.5 To conclude

When it comes to some of the Singhasāri sculptures and all of the following Majapahit sculptures, the most common link is a textile design that is part of the *ceplok* group of patterns, known as *kawung*. This pattern appears to have emerged as the favoured motif for the *sinjang* to indicate the deities are deified monarchs. Perhaps the concept of $4+4+1=5$ was enough to see the protective value of this pattern to dress the deities that represented the Javanese royals. A pattern concept which was representative of the outer four points of the compass, with one point in the centre which represents the Supreme Being, together forming the sacred five. The roots of this concept are pre-Hindu and date back to the culture of Austro-Asiatic speakers (Velduisen-Djajasoebarta 1979:205).

Acri has written of a new paradigm which represents a “strong convergence theory” which he describes:

“Envisages the diffusion, filiation and localization of cultural and linguistic elements that developed across Monsoon Asia in parallel”(Acri 2017:130).

This refers to the Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian speakers, all of which are in Java and Sumatra and highlights the cultural practices that once existed in the Indian Subcontinent which :

“Could so easily have been revived or connected with those still found in other parts of the Indic world, in mainland and Insular Southeast Asia”(Acri:132).

We will use these two quotes from Acri to perhaps help in explaining the popularity of the $4+4+1=5$ theory in east Java, as this paradigm is also reflected in the *navagraha* and *chabadhi bhat* or *jilamprang* pattern which originated from India.

However there are a number of examples of variations of this motif originating from China, these are depicted in Appendix 3 Plate 16. Whilst we do agree with the ‘convergence’ theory proposed by Acri and many before him, this perhaps indicates the development of the culture of Java and Sumatra leant primarily to the Indian sub-Continent. The fragmentary nature and perhaps not first-hand evidence of relevant sources from China, such as the *Zhufanzhi*, does not help us to understand what were the exact textiles which were traded from China, all we know is the term ‘brocade and silks’. We can clearly see reflections of various versions of the Javanese *kawung* pattern and examples of other patterns depicted

especially on the sculptures in Chapter 3 Group 4. These are reflected in Chinese silk brocaded textiles from the Yüan period of the 13th to 14th century. The similarity is uncanny, for example, we see small rosettes, a large oval version of the *kawung* motif woven with double lines around each vesica shape, textiles with a supplementary weft motif made up a small circles of adjoining vesica shapes, and a jacket with lotus flower medallions against a background of cross-hatching infilled with small daisy flowers. These patterns from China are just some examples of how this spiritually powerful pattern to the Javanese continues through until today, as evident for its earliest depicted roots in Java dating back to the 13th century. We propose that these patterns did not however have the same spiritual meaning to the Chinese. Nevertheless, the theory behind this pattern perhaps did originate from India and was re-interpreted in Java, so much so that by the late-14th to early 15th centuries, the *kawung* motif had emerged as the most popular, the most religious and spiritually symbolic of the Hindu Buddhist period. This subsequently led to the widespread use of this pattern in the following Islamic period for batik textiles in the Mataram courts of Surakarta and in Jogjakarta.¹⁷³

From the research established in this thesis we have proposed that the Javanese were producing their own textiles from at least the 10th century, in the form of cotton ikats and then later by the 11th century silk brocade. It is clearly apparent that the inspiration for many of the patterns were of foreign origin, even if the techniques were perhaps locally inspired.

If we are to observe the types of textiles made in Java and Sumatra today, and on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, we will notice that the cultural heritage of these regions is reflected in their *songket* textiles. The patterns depicted in *songket* today, as we have proposed, are also reflected on a number of the Singosari sculptures. However after the decline of the Majapahit this weaving technique was not continued in Java, but flourished in the Muslim courts in Minangkabau, Jambi and Palembang in Sumatra and on the east coast of Malaysia and in East Malaysia and Brunei. In Java their cultural heritage is reflected in the art of batik textiles, with one pattern group, the *ceplak* and the *kawung* motif which endures

¹⁷³ The *kawung* became one of the *larangan* or forbidden patterns restricted to the principedom of Surakarta decreed in 1769, 1784 and 1790, and the Sultanates of Jogjakarta. Velduisen-Djajasoebata, A. 1980. On the Origin and Nature of Larangan: Forbidden Batik Patterns from the Central Javanese Principalities. In *Indonesian Textiles, Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles 1979 Proceedings*, ed. M. Gittinger. Washington D.C.: The Textile Museum. :201

until the present. The one pattern which completely disappeared in Java or indeed in the Malay world, was that of the roundels, which leave the statues Cat.44 and 45 as testament of a textile type now lost in the cultural heritage of Javanese textile history.

It is intended that this first comprehensive catalogue of textiles represented on sculpture both remains a unique window into the 'remnants' of medieval Javanese elite dress and cloth patterns and forms a starting point for the next generation of students to pursue further multi-disciplinary research into the origins of these textiles and their implications for the cultural heritage and religious art history of Java. We hope this thesis presents fresh light and in some instances irrefutable evidence into the possible inspiration behind some of the complex textile patterns depicted on the sculptures which has provided a visual vocabulary and a unique inventory of sculptures in Java.

6 Glossary

<i>Abasana</i>	Vendor of clothing
<i>Angunkir</i>	The sculptor of deities, known in the Kaḍiri and Singhasāri
<i>Arcā</i>	Stone Statue or figure, image or idol
<i>Baju</i>	Malay upper body jacket with long sleeves
<i>Batik cap</i>	Batik a wax resist textile made with a stamp
<i>Batik tulis</i>	Batik a wax resist textile drawn with a pen or tulis
<i>Benang bal</i>	Wound ball of threads
<i>Bhumi</i>	Capital during the Singhasāri period
<i>Bunga</i>	Malay word for a flower pattern
<i>Bunga kemunting cina</i>	Chinese rose myrtle motif
<i>Cadar</i>	A loom used by the cadar weavers was called pacadaran
<i>Candrakapāla</i>	Motif called death's-head fangs
<i>Ceplok</i>	Pattern group consists of square, rhomboids and circles
<i>Channavīra</i>	Crossed belts across the chest
<i>Cinde</i>	Javanese term of silk double ikat from India
<i>Desa</i>	Village
<i>Geringsing</i>	Double ikat cotton cloth from Bali
<i>Harnas</i>	Dutch word armour
<i>Ikat</i>	Resist process of creating a pattern on the thread
<i>Jilamprang</i>	Indonesian name for the Indian flower basket motif on <i>patola</i>
<i>Kain</i>	Cloth, and long cloth
<i>Kain balapak</i>	Songket cloth with all over gold thread design
<i>Kapas</i>	Cotton
<i>Kawung</i>	Pattern of intersecting circles, part of the ceplok pattern group
<i>Kraton</i>	Palace
<i>Krodha</i>	Demonic
<i>Larangan</i>	Forbidden pattern restricted to members of the royal family
<i>Limar</i>	Weft ikat in silk
<i>Lurik</i>	Striped cotton cloth of Java
<i>Manca-pat</i>	Literally means the outer four with one Supreme Being
<i>Mordant</i>	Chemical serves to fix a dye to a fabric or threads
<i>Mudrā</i>	Hand gestures
<i>Nasīj</i>	Gold woven brocade textiles found in China
<i>Negara or rājya</i>	Kings residence
<i>Pacadaran</i>	Weaver of textiles
<i>Pending</i>	Ornate belt buckle
<i>Pande</i>	Skilled worker
<i>Patola</i>	Double ikat in silk from Patan Gujarat
<i>Perada/prada</i>	Gold leaf glue work known in Bali and Java
<i>Poleng</i>	A cloth made up of black and white squares
<i>Prasasti</i>	Stone inscription
<i>Rantai/rante</i>	Linked chains, enclose a <i>bunga</i> motif in <i>songket</i> textiles
<i>Tassel</i>	Tassel at the end of a chain or <i>uncal</i>
<i>Sabut/Sabuk</i>	Metal/fabric belt tied around the waist
<i>Samit</i>	Weft-faced compound twill cloth from China
<i>Sash</i>	Cloth sash worn across the hips over the legs
<i>Sarong</i>	Tube skirt in cotton
<i>Seléndang</i>	Shoulder cloth or worn across the upper body
<i>Sembagi</i>	Indian trade cotton replicated the patterns of a <i>patola</i>
<i>Sinjang</i>	Long cloth to the ankles
<i>Songket</i>	Supplementary weft with gold, silver or coloured threads

<i>Long cloth belt</i>	Long fabric sash worn tightly around the waist beneath the <i>sash</i>
<i>Tapis</i>	Thin or fine cloth, tube skirt in Lampung south Sumatra
<i>Tulis mas</i>	Drawing with gold
<i>Tulis warna</i>	Drawing with colour
<i>Tumpal</i>	Triangular shape pattern at the ends of <i>patola</i>
<i>Udharabhanda</i>	Indian term for a stomach band
<i>Uncal</i>	long metal or fabric belt
<i>Utpala</i>	Blue lily flower
<i>Varman</i>	Protective cloth
<i>Warp</i>	Vertical threads on a loom
<i>Weft</i>	Horizontal threads on a loom
<i>Wayang Kulit</i>	Leather shadow puppet
<i>Wayang Wong</i>	Human version of theatre

6.1 Extended Glossary for Textile Terms

Some of the pattern terms have been taken from the *kidung* and *sīma* texts. A number of pattern terms learned from the *kidung* and *sīma* texts are reflected on east Javanese sculptures. These are *patola*, *gĕringsing*, *ceplok/kawung* and *prada*, and these terms have been chosen as they appear to be the only known patterns relating to the 13th and 14th century sculptures, thus firmly establishing provenance and making them historically immutable.

Patola

This fine silk cloth was probably brought to Indonesia by Muslim merchants from Gujarat from approximately 1500. The silk *patola* was woven in Patan and was known to be exported to Indonesia¹⁷⁴ (Fischer 1980:37, Gittinger 1979:45-48). The word *patola/patolu*¹⁷⁵ appears in Indian writings from the 7th century, (Warming and Garwoski 1981:103, Pal 2004:6). *Patola* cloth was woven in double *ikat*, where both the warp and weft are tied and

¹⁷⁴ The precious textiles appeared to transcend the simple genre of Trade Goods and their suitability for ceremonial use insured their place where many cloths were revered as sacred heirlooms. Often only displayed on ceremonial occasions. Crill, R. 2016. *The Fabric of India*. London: V&A Publishing. :160. Once outside Patan in Gujarat, where it was produced, *patola* became universally regarded as a high status, prestige cloth and its used confined to those of high social status. In Java, *patola* and the later batik was part of royal ceremonial dress. Many of the designs created in Gujarat were solely for the Southeast Asian markets, and each country would value a different series of patterns. Guy states that literary references to silk *patola* as we know it date from the 14th century. Guy, J. 2010. *Rare and Strange Goods: International Trade in 9th century Asia*. In *Shipwrecked Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds*, eds. R. Krahl, J. Guy, J. K. Wilson & J. Raby, 19-30. Singapore Arthur M.Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Inst

National Heritage Board, Singapore. :6-9

¹⁷⁵ From the 17th century Gujarat in western India, the Persian word *patolu* (sing.) *patola* (pl.), from Sanskrit *patta* cloth is a double *ikat* silk cloth. The plural term is widely used in Indonesia to mean singular and plural, and we will use plural here in this thesis. Maxwell, R. 2003a. *Sari to Sarong, Five Hundred Years of Indian and Indonesian Textile Exchange*. London: National Gallery of Australia.:112

dyed with the same pattern, the cloth was woven on an upright fixed loom to create the design. The most iconic of pattern and layout associated with *patola* is the eight-point flower known as *jilamprang* in Indonesia (Warming and Garwoski 1981:171). The word *patola* can relate to both the pattern and the technique and in this thesis we will use the word to refer to any pattern relating to the *jilamprang* motif.

The layout of the cloth is made up of the following terms: the *badan* represents the body of the cloth, the *pinggir* the narrow borders along each long side, and the *tumpal* pattern of inverted triangles appears along each end at the *kepala* or the head of the cloth (McCabe Elliot 1996:214-223). However, in most cases the *tumpal* pattern seen is neither found on the trousers of Javanese princes, nor indeed, on any of the textile patterns of the stone statues of east Java. Paradoxically these cloths were the key influence on many types of Indonesian textiles, but the format of the layout is not apparent on any of the sculptures of the 13th century. John Guy and others have suggested that if *patola* and Indian cotton textiles reached Java and Sumatra by the 14th to 15th centuries (Guy 1998:39-42), then many of the textiles depicted on the sculptures of east Java have a shared visual vocabulary. Whilst on the one hand this might be historically immutable, the opinion of what types of textiles might or might not have reached Java and, similarly, what might or might not have been represented on the sculptures of the 13th century, remains unanswered and unknown. The textile experts Langewis and Wagner stated that:

“it is almost certain that the influence of *patola* and other imported cloths has contributed to the development of the many *ceplok* patterns” (Langewis and Wagner 1964:29)

If this is so, then all things considered, the evidence for textile designs on sculptures representing *patola* appears convincing.¹⁷⁶ However if *patola* did not reach Java and Sumatra until the 15th century and was followed by Indian trade cottons, then the Indian textiles as the world knows them today were not the primary source of inspiration behind the patterns on the sculptures, despite the fact that a small amount of ‘so called’ Indo-Egyptian cottons similar to the Fustat pieces (Barnes 1997b) have been found in Java. Moreover, they have been attributed to having been replicated on some of the central Javanese bronze statues, (see Chapter 4). We cannot attest to their exact origin, nor do we have any record of their

¹⁷⁶ The *ceplok* pattern will be discussed in the following pages.

being traded to the island. Some of the *patola* patterns however, are reflected to a degree on the 13th century sculptures, but we do not hold the view these important sculptures were depicting these silk fabrics. As discussed earlier, fine silk *patola* was treasured and used for sashes and waist wraps, not as hip wraps. As a result, a close inspection of the 13th century sculptures does not in our opinion reveal any evidence of the *patola* motif.

Gringsing

Gringsing or *gěringsing* is a double ikat cotton cloth woven in the Tenganan Pegringsingan village of east Bali (Langewis and Wagner 1964:108). The term *gěringsing* can also refer to the cloth and to the patterns, as does *patola*. Both Gittinger and Fraser-Lu describe Balinese *gěringsing* cloth as having magical and protective powers (Gittinger 1979:179-178, Fraser-Lu 1988:71). There are also a number of verses in the KH which mention the term *gěringsing kawung* and the expression “white cloth with gold” (Berg 1931b:57, verse 45b). The *kemben*¹⁷⁷ *gěringsing* is known as a ritual garment, which holds magical potency and is described as used to protect people from threat of defilement and decay (Hauser-Schäublin et al. 1991:120). Perhaps this was how the *gěringsing* was seen in the 13th century. This description of textile patterns, taken from the KH, uses a number of terms which are still in use today, which could easily have been reflected on the textile patterns of the 13th century sculptures. For example, Raden Wijaya, a king in the Majapahit period, is described as follows:

“He presented himself to the queen who was dressed in *gěringsing* wayang and decorated with floral patterns in liquid gold or *prada* and a pink *kampuh*,¹⁷⁸ with gold threads, the upper side made of green silk”. He then met the two princesses of the king “who wore *sinjang gěringsing kawung* made of selected fine cloth with *tumpal*¹⁷⁹ ornament, red at the bottom and green at the top”. (Sumaryoto 1993:33, Berg 1931b:61, verse 59b & 62a & b).

Given that the term *gěringsing* has been known since the 14th century texts, it must have had certain a symbolism and ritual power for it to appear a number of times in the KH.

¹⁷⁷ Used as a breast cloth

¹⁷⁸ *Kampuh* is the Balinese word for a *kendit*, which is the short hip cloth worn over a long kain or sinjang

¹⁷⁹ *Tumpal* is the name given to the inverted triangular pattern often depicted at the border ends of the silk *patola* and its cotton block printed and mordant dyed replicas from western India. The *tumpal* motif became very popular in almost every aspect of the cloth produced into woven cloth and on batik in all the Indonesian islands. However the *tumpal* motif NEVER appears on the sculptures of this period in Java.

For example, a number of *gěringsing* patterns such as *gěringsing cemplong* appear to be very similar in design and layout as a number of the *patola* patterns, as is the *gěringsing papare* motif.¹⁸⁰ In this instance these terms refer to the pattern, whereas the quote above refers to the cloth itself.

The *gěringsing kawung*, written in Middle Javanese, is the name for the pattern, i.e. a double *ikat* with a *kawung* design. This Indian Trade Cotton is depicted with a *gěringsing* motif similar to a variation of the *patola* pattern above. The centre section of the cloth is a four pointed star surrounded by a circular motif in a stylised version of the *jilamprang*. The correct terminology would be *gěringsing* chintz and the suggestion is that textiles such as these were prototype¹⁸¹ textiles in ancient Indonesia. Precepts set by textile scholars, such as Holmgren and Spertus, suggest a clear relationship between similar iconography from the Persian, Chinese and Mediterranean worlds and the local product such as this one (Holmgren and Spertus 1991:61).

This description taken from the Nāg. appears to be the earliest evidence of the *gěringsing/grinsing* pattern.¹⁸² Of course in this instance the description of the *sinjang* refers to a *gěringsing* cloth with a *kawung* pattern. Another such description from the Nāg. describing a canopy using the *grinsing* term, refers to a *gěringsing* cloth with gold, is as follows:

¹⁸⁰ John Guy has noted that the *papare* pattern is unmistakably influenced by *patola*. The basic pattern consists of intersecting circles and four-pointed stars, although the elements are the same as the *patola*, the structure differs Guy, J. 1998. *Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East*. Singapore: Thames and Hudson. :13, fig.9

¹⁸¹ Holmgren and Spertus have conducted extensive research into the subject of *geringsing*, and question whether it is really Balinese, and who influenced who? What was the prototype textile for the Balinese *geringsing*? It is generally thought that prototype textiles circulated throughout the Indonesian archipelago and Mainland Southeast Asia. What developed out of these so-called prototypes is, of course subject to conjecture. Nevertheless the patterns depicted on historical monuments and stone statues were the result of the local manufacture of these prototypes, perhaps representing locally produced material and techniques. Hence the designs on the stone sculptures then became the prototypes and the patterns were copied many times over the following centuries. Holmgren, R. J. & A. E. Spertus. 1991. Is Gerinsing Really Balinese? In *Indonesian Textiles*, ed. K. v. W. and G.Volger, 59-80. Cologne: Rautenstrauch-Joest-museum. :61

¹⁸² However the term *grinsing*, is an old motif often discussed in relationship to batik (note the difference in spelling). The pattern refers to a series of small dots overlapping like fish scales, often used as a filler design for a *ceplok* pattern. Langewis, L. & F. A. Wagner. 1964. *Decorative Art in Indonesian Textiles*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij C.P.J. Van der Peet. :176

“Adorned with canopies of red *lobheng lěwih grinsing*¹⁸³ painted with gold, referring to the King of Majapahit’s carriage.” Nag., 18:4 (Robson and Prapanca 1995:38).

Many similarities have been made between the patterns on *gěringsing* and *patola* (Stuart-Fox 1993:92). We have discussed the *patola* and *gěringsing* patterns, with regards to their obvious use in the 14th century as is evident from the KH. However debatable this suggestion might be, the pattern on Cat.56 is the closest in design layout to a *patola jilamprang* motif or the *gěringsing papare* pattern. We also concur with Holmgren and Spertus that the sculptures themselves became prototypes and their patterns have been copied and replicated over subsequent centuries.

Tulis Mas (Old Javanese) or Prada/Perada (contemporary)

The next pattern term and technique is *tulis mas*, the Old Javanese term for *prada* in use today. This cloth remains in use today especially in Bali where *prada* is culturally associated with Bali. *Prada* design is very often depicted on statues of deities outside the *pura* or temples of Bali. The term *prada* refers to the technique and the design. It is a process where gold leaf or gold dust is applied directly onto the cloth and adheres to a pre-applied pattern stamped on with glue. The process is a popular way to decorate textiles to enhance the existing pattern of *batik*, perhaps as depicted in this 19th century batik or just to apply *prada* onto a plain silk fabric (Warming and Garwoski 1981:141). The most common patterns are large lotus blossoms and other flowers, along with tendrils and leaves (Hauser-Schäublin et al. 1991:53). The Chinese influence is often apparent when the design includes the *banji* patterns as we see on Harihara Ardhanari Cat.61.

In ancient times *prada* appeared to be a popular way to create a ‘gold coloured’ textiles or textiles decorated with gold glue-work, as suggested by Wisseman Christie “possibly in imitation of Persian gold-decorated cloth” (Wisseman Christie 1998b:25).

In the late 12th century the *Smaradhana Kakawin* mentions the term *tinulis mas*, a word for a gold cloth. The Tuhuanaru Charter of 1323 includes the term *tulis ing mas* or drawn upon in gold (Boechari 1986:77-85), along with the Old Javanese term *tulis warna*, drawing with colour (Zoetmulder 1982:2057, 16.6, Wisseman Christie 1998b:25). These two terms

¹⁸³ Means some sort of pattern, also used to describe the pattern on a *sabuk* or sash. Reference Eko Bastiawan, see Appendix 3.

represent types of textiles allowed to be worn only by members of high rank in the community (Wisseman Christie 1991b:16).

Kawung

The last term to appear in the texts is *kawung*. Another historically immutable pattern known as one of the *ceplok* or geometric group of patterns. A number of designs, especially the motif known as *kawung* can be traced back to any number of sources over the centuries, with various differing meanings and interpretations. It is quite possible that this ubiquitous Javanese motif as it was used in Java, perhaps originated from within Java itself. Langewis and Wagner have described the *kawung* motif:

“as a simple ellipse in which two focal points are clearly indicated, these ellipses are placed crosswise opposite one another; repetition of this placed at regular intervals forms the decorative filling of the whole area”. “The most significant feature is the four pointed star that appears between the ellipses which in-turn display a plain stylised flower”. (Langewis and Wagner 1964:30)

In our opinion Langewis and Wagner’s description of the *kawung* pattern does not use the correct term to describe this shape, consequently we have chosen the word *vesica piscis*.¹⁸⁴ The precise origin of the *kawung* pattern is lost to the past, but the earliest visual evidence of the motif in Java is on Cat.38. This textile pattern is often referred to as a batik pattern, but we propose it is more likely to be replicating a technique known as *tulis mas* or *prada* today (Langewis and Wagner:30). Even though there appears to be a similarity in design and given that we do not know what type of textile the pattern on the sculptures is represented, only assumptions can be made. Further reference to the Old Javanese texts, as discussed earlier, lead us to note that while the term *kawung* appears many times as a ‘pattern’ name (Berg 1931b:57, verse 45b:60, verse 62a), the technique is unknown. Thus following the premise as suggested earlier, that a *kawung* pattern is a series of *vesica* made into circles, then Cat.38 is the earliest representation of this motif in Java. John Guy in his book *Woven Cargoes*, describes the pattern:

¹⁸⁴ The actual correct dictionary word to describe this shape of a lens pointed at each end is *vesica piscis*, *Mandorla* (Italian: almond), also called aureole or *vesica piscis*. We have chosen to use the word *vesica* when describing the geometrical form of the *kawung* pattern.

“It’s highly probable that the Ganesa was represented wearing a prestigious imported Indian cloth. This design became an important pattern in the later Javanese repertoire, where it is known as *kawung*” (Guy 1998:62).

Another example refers to the now destroyed sculpture of King Sanatruq I, the Persian king of Satra (r.140-180). His garments of long tunic and robe are decorated with a pattern, possibly representing stitched pearls in a motif of interlocking circles. Sanatruq once



Fig. 6.1 King Sanatruq, Drawing of the lower body garments. www.ezida.com/musee.com

stood at the entrance to the Hatra Temple of the Sun as the centre of the sun cult, where it is suggested he was seen as the representative of the cult of sun worship. Therefore we might assume that this ancient pattern has a direct relationship with the cult of sun worship (Forman 1998:73). Historically this figure has no relationship with Java, but is presented here as a clear example of the popularity of the motif on the garment.

6.2 Bahasa Terms for Dress

The apparel depicted on the sculptures consist mainly of a long cloth and sashes. These are combined with belts, perhaps made from a woven cloth, and belts which probably

represent a metal of some sort, perhaps gold.¹⁸⁵ The sarong or '*kain*' or '*sarung*' in Bahasa Indonesia and the word '*sinjang*'¹⁸⁶ represent the long cloth wrapped around the lower body. In the present day the *sarung* or sarong is generally worn as a tube shirt by women (Warming and Garwoski 1981:56), meaning the cloth is sewn into a tube to be wrapped around the body.

The bronze and gold statuettes of central Java are depicted as either Śaivite or Buddhist deities, more often than not dressed in a *dhoti*¹⁸⁷ held up by a girdle, very similar in style to the small bronze figures from India. Lerner and Kossak have used a number of Indian rather than Javanese terms to describe the dress on these small bronzes. In this thesis we will use *dhotī* (Lerner and Kossak 1991:175, Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984b:52), however we will

¹⁸⁵ We have made these assumptions from observing the various different structures of the sashes and belts, and referencing them to silver belts worn by the Iban in east Malaysia and silver gilt belts worn by the Peranakan in Peninsular Malaysia. It is also apparent from the Zhufanzhi that gold in Java was the medium of payment for salaries to the civil servants, the king sat on a gold throne, ate off gold dishes, gold was given in marriage exchange and criminals were not given corporal punishment but fined in gold. (Hirth, F. & W. W. Rockhill. 1965. *Chao Ju-kua: his work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled 'Chu-fan-chi'*. Taiwan: Literature House Ltd.:76-77

¹⁸⁶ *Sinjang* taken from Old Javanese Literature, See Appendix 2

¹⁸⁷ An Indian word for a lower body cloth wrapped around the body and in many instances pulled up between the legs and tucked in at the waist behind the body. Lerner, M. & S. Kossak. 1991. *The Lotus Transcendent, Indian and Southeast Asian Art from the Smauel Eilenberg Collection*. New York: Harry N, Abrams, Inc. :173, Fig. 133

use the Bahasa Indonesia word *kain* for a longer garment or length of cloth worn wrapped round the waist and reaching the ankles (Warming and Garwoski 1981:152).



Fig. 6.4 Cat.19. The *sash* folds over across his thighs



Fig. 6.3 Cat. 51. The *sash* ties at the side of the body with a large knot.



Fig. 6.2 Cat.42. The *uncal* resembles a metal chain made up of circular gold discs with a detailed *rumbai* at the end.

We turn now to the notion of sashes and belts as an essential part of the dress for securing the long cloth around the waist. The long cloth waist belt may be plain as is the case on most of the sculptures, and is called *stagén*¹⁸⁸ (ibid. 62). This is a long fabric belt wrapped many times around the waist to secure the *sinjang*, as is evident in the figure of Mahākāla, where the long belt is clearly apparent tied up in a knot at the front of the body. The *sash* is a “kind of scarf worn by princesses and female dancers over the ceremonial dress, tied around the waist with the two ends hanging down”¹⁸⁹. This garment appears on virtually every statue in central and east Java as evident from the sculptures in Chapters 4 to 6. In east Java the *sash* is usually shown in a double layer lying flat over the thighs, but the *sash* which appears on the stone sculptures and bronzes from central Java more often than not are carved depicting a fold in the cloth over on the thighs as seen here on this Agastya (Fig. 6.4).

¹⁸⁸ From personal observation, the *stagân* is still in use today by the kraton or palace guards in Surakarta and Jogjakarta, usually made of a flowered cloth called *cinde* or *patola* and worn with the *keris* in the back.

¹⁸⁹ <http://sealang.net/ojed/>



Fig. 6.5 Cat. 13. The *uncal* is depicted as a thin chain probably meant to represent silver.



Fig. 6.6 Cat. 1. The long *uncal* and heavy *rumbai*, both probably representing a gold ornament.

Cloth belts or *uncal* are often depicted with the addition of circular plaques probably made of gold. They can also signify a woven or reticulated gold belt with circular plaques which could represent *batu* or jewels of some sort, as we see on Cat. 41. The resulting tassel at the end of this long belt is known as the *tassel* or the *benang bal*. The *uncal* on the late east Javanese sculptures have been carved as a very decorative feature compared with the earlier central Javanese bronzes. In central Java the *uncal* does not always appear. If it does, it usually appears as a rather narrow band probably shown as a twisted silver or gold chain, indicative of the type of chain from India. By the Majapahit period, this item of the dress had taken on an extreme form and was conspicuously carved giving the appearance of a heavily jewelled chain belt.



Fig. 6.7 Viṣṇu, Pāla period, 9th to 10th century, MNI, New Delhi.

The word *seléndang* is the term used for a shawl or stole (Fraser-Lu 1988:140, Warming and Garwoski 1981:57), worn over the left shoulder or across the upper body.¹⁹⁰ The sash is clearly visible in almost all 11th to 12th century Pāla sculptures as we see in this Viṣṇu for example, where the stole is depicted by a series of wavy lines, sometimes patterned to replicate the *dhotī*. In contrast, in central Java the sash is often carved with two lines realistically drawn across the body as we see in this bronze of Avalokitesvara. By the east Javanese period this example of the *seléndang* across the torso of Brahma

from Caṇḍi Singosari depicts the sash in a typical Singosari style, represented as a wide band with a thin line carved in the centre and the flap realistically carved over the right shoulder.

6.3 Chinese Terms for Geographical Regions: from Yijing 635-718

1. Mo-lo-yu – Malayu or Shih-li-fo-shih (Śrībhoga)
Yijing called Śrībhoga, Chin-chou, Golden Isle
2. Fo-shih (Bhoga) is mentioned in T'ang history (618-906) as being on the south shore of the Straits of Malacca
Ho-ling (Java)
3. San-bo-tsai (San-fo-Ch'i), History of Sung (960-1279) is probably Shih-li-fo-shih (Śrībhoga). will be known as Śrīvijaya or present day Palembang - an important trading port and the people embrace Buddhism, but were of Hindu origin, the country is rich in gold, and wear kan-man (sarongs). The kingdom of San-bo-tsai is that of the southern barbarians, between Cambodia (Chên-la) and Java (Shê-p'o)
4. Fifteen states are mentioned as dependents on San-bo-tsai, Tan-ma-ling, Pa-ling-fêng, Sin-da, Lan-pi and Lan-wu-li, can be identified with Tana-Malayu, next to the Sumatran kingdoms of Palembang, Jambi, Sunda and Lambri, all indicated that they belong to Sumatra.

¹⁹⁰ The sash as worn across the torso of many of the Pāla statues as depicted on virtually all of the Javanese statues, is more than likely the predecessor of the *seléndang* of today. Hamilton describes the *seléndang* in its current form as being a recent innovation, heavily influenced by the use of shoulder sashes, use of which became de rigueur as part of national dress for women in Indonesia in the second half of the 20th century Roxas-Lim, A. *Southeast Asian Art and Culture, Ideas, Forms and Societies*. Jakarta: ArtPostAsia Pte Ltd.:29

5. Arab travellers in the 9th century speak of the land called Sarbaza, which seems to be a corruption of Yavadvîpa. San-fo-Ch'i as Srîbhoga of I-tsing, Sarbaza of the Arabs San-bo-tsai (San-fo-Ch'i) of the Chinese historians
6. The name Malayu seems to have existed for a long time may have also been called Bhoga (the country) and lay on the southern shore of Malacca. We deduct from this information that Malayu covered the southeast side of Sumatra, from the southern shores of Malacca to the city of Palembang.
7. The last Chinese conquest in 1379CE the names of San-bo-tsai, Srîbhoga disappear and are replaced with the 'Old Port'
8. The Chu-fan-chi of Chau Ju-Kua (12th-13th centuries) gives a long account of San-bo-tsai (San-fo-Ch'i)

(I-Tsing 1998:xli-xlvi)¹⁹¹

6.4 Chinese Terms for Geographical Regions: Zhufanzi, 12th -13th century

9. Ligor Malay Peninsular
10. San-fo-ts'i Palembang, eastern Sumatra
11. Tan-ma-ling Malay Peninsular
12. Sin-t'o Sunda. West Java
13. Kién-pi Kampar, eastern Sumatra
14. Shö-p'o Java
15. Su-ki-tan Central Java
16. Nan-p'i Malabar, India
17. Hu-ch'a-la Gujarat, India
18. Chu-lién Coromandel Coast, Chola Domain
19. Ta-ts'in Bagdad
20. T'ién-chu India
21. Ta-shi The Arabs
22. Chön-la Cambodia
- 23.
24. (Hirth and Rockhill 1965: Part 1)
- 25.

6.5 Old Javanese Literature

26. *Kidung* - a style of literary work adapted from the history of the Majapahit kingdom
27. *Sîma* - tax-transfers charters, spanning a period from early 9th to late 15th century. Preserved on stone and copperplate, they are a corpus of legal documents
28. Documents from the 10th to 15th century

¹⁹¹ His written records contributed to our knowledge of Śrīvijaya and the kingdoms which lay on the passage between China and Nālandā.

29. Sumanasantaka Kakawin (SK) Parthayajna Kakwin (PK), Korawacrama Kakwin (KK) - Old Javanese literature
30. Kidung Sundayana (KS) Kidung Rangga Lawe (KRL) Serat Pararaton (SP) Serat Bīma Suci (SBS)- Middle Javanese Literature
31. Kidung Harsawijaya (KH), Kidung Panji Wijayakrama (KPW) Deśawarṇana Nāgarakṛtāgama (Nāg.) by Mpu Prapañca (1350-1389), translated by Th.G.Th. Pigeaud (1960-1963). Current translation by Stuart Robson(1995)
32. Serat Jayalengkara LOr. 5787 (SJ). Panji Priyembada LOr.8941 (PP) - Panji stories
33. Pararaton - written sometime after 1481 CE
34. Documents from the 18th to 20th century
35. Serat Pranacitra (SP) Rara Mendut is the leading character
36. Serat Tatatjara (ST) - Text on manners and traditional customs
37. Kidung Sudamala, (KS) - Sri Tanjung, Javanese Folk Tales
(Initials in brackets refers to the literature in which the term appears)

38. *Pinggir*, border
39. *Sinjang*, *wastra*, *tapih* (2.5-3mx90cm)(SK &PK) *kampung/dodot* (4 times the size of the *sinjang*)
40. *Sabuk/sabut*, a narrow waist sash, (KS)
41. *Lancingan*, pants/trousers
42. *Kulambi*, jacket
43. *Sabuk*, *paringset*, *satagen*, *belts*
44. *Perada*, tin coated gold thread, strewn with gold powder
45. *Gerinsing*, pattern, use as gifts, a cover and a tear wiper
46. *Limar*, locally made silk ikat textile (KK)
47. *Sempur/semprur*, long pieces cloth which is tied around the waist and hanging loose as a far as the ground, usually made of a fine cloth such as silk *cinde*
48. *Kemben*, a cloth to cover the breast
49. *Tumpal*, triangular ornament
50. *Slope* design used on the *sinjang*, beach and mountain design also on the *sinjang*. Mountains are believed to the home of the ancestors and the gods
51. *Babayabon*, a type of silk with a particular design
52. *Panji*, slope pattern also *lereng*, a Malay word
53. *Kawung*, geometrical cube with a diagonal ornament, derived from the Arenga Pinatu, the sugar palm.
54. *Wayang* or *ringgit*, puppet
55. Sumaryoto records one type of double ikat textile which is frequently mentioned in the PP (see Appendix 3.iv) is *geringsing*, (KK) however Zoetmulder(1974) quotes many citations from Middle Javanese Literature which contains the word *geringsing*
56. *Cinde* (refers to Indian *patola*, double ikat in silk) is only known in the Wangbang Wideya text (Javanese Panji Romance)
57. In the Serat Pranacitra, is mentioned the following, *wastra keling*, *sinjang geringsing ringgit* and tin coated *prada*. *Kemben clepan prada*
58. *Keling*, and ethnic group from India
59. *Sinjang kawung*, worn by King Kṛtarājasa, he should protect the world, if a king is no longer able to protect the world he must be replaced

60. *Poleng*, a pattern with a diagonal cube form, black and white alternately, black and white are symbols of eternal power, a polarity that occurs in all things in the world, often depicted on the wayang figures Bima and Semar.

61.

The above terms are taken from (Sumaryoto 1993:31-37)

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Epilogue

Lohuizen-de Leeuw suggested that the two Dikpāla at the VB in Jakarta were the finest of all Singhasāri statues retained by the Javanese (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1955:371). Whilst this may well have been true in 1955, these statues are effectively now lost to the nation as they are hidden behind glass and not available to the general public. The textile patterns on the statues have also now been virtually eradicated with the application of a varnish and gold paint. We advocate that these two sculptures, namely Cat.57 and 58 plus Cat.56 and Cat.45 should be placed on an 'endangered list'. We are particularly concerned with the ongoing preservation of the ancient textile patterns, which exist on these figures. For this reason the drawings created in this thesis have documented the remnants of disappearing patterns for future generations.



Museum Singhasāri, Malang, east Java. May 2016

On 14th May 2016, when visiting Malang in east Java, during my last research trip, we discovered that a new museum had just been finished, built by the Malang District for the purpose of housing Singosari sculptures. The background to the walls within the main galleries of the museum had been decorated with enlarged photos of the various Singhasāri caṇḍi, accompanied by old photographs and drawings from the early 20th centuries, the resulting collage producing an important record and documentation of the history of the Singhasāri period. Unfortunately, there was no indication as to what sculptures would be placed in this museum.



Internal walls depicting replicas of reliefs from Candi Jago, and 20th century photographs and drawings from European scholars. Exhibition created by Pak Dwi, Malang University

The keepers of the Singosari Tower Temple archaeological site outside Malang indicated they would not allow their sculptures, all of which remain outside and unprotected against the elements, to be released to the Singhasāri museum. A suggestion was made to the organisers of the museum to the effect that a series of photos and drawings of the sculptures created by this thesis be placed on exhibition to accompany the display in order to demonstrate for the future that east Java was part of a continuous cultural and artistic exchange between other regions in Asia.

We would like to carry out post-doctoral research into the statue of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā Cat.54 which remains at MJSM at Jambi. We have proposed in this thesis that this statue was made in Sumatra and not in Java as has been indicated in past literature.¹⁹² The purpose of the research would be to ascertain the origin of the stone used to carve the statue, with the purpose of adding to our knowledge of this important deity. In east Java in various small museums, there remain many damaged sculptures, which have yet to be identified. One such example is the Mpu Purwa Museum in Malang.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Details of this statue are in Appendix 4 Sumatra and Appendix 1 Sumatra

¹⁹³ In May 2016 it was in the process of being re-built. However we were able to gain access to the outside store. There were many damaged stones in different state of collapse, clearly some important pieces which need further investigation.

The final aim is to publish all the sculptures and their textile patterns, to illustrate the value of these ancient textiles, many of which no longer exist for further research and for the benefit of teachers and students alike, most especially in Java.¹⁹⁴ It is for that reason we would like the publication to be printed in dual languages.

¹⁹⁴ We would hope to publish a Bahasa English book for the Indonesian market.